

TEXTS AND STUDIES OF THE
JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA
VOL. V

SAADIA'S POLEMIC AGAINST
HIWI AL-BALKHI

BY
ISRAEL DAVIDSON

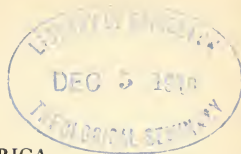


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Saadia's polemic against
Hiwi al Balkhi

SAADIA'S POLEMIC AGAINST
HIWI AL-BALKHI

עלכן עשה חיים מינו נבדעת לחיות מוסר לכל כחיה ישעיה
 דיעתה כתבת כי נשחק קיונו מן העשר ולא נחממה של
 עלה ולפני ביוחס הכל בבורה ידור לאתק צי ולא יורא ולא
 יגור מן האדם העשר לו ירא מפני המיתר ולא פחד מן
 הפחד יאכל עץ הכרית אבל גר שר ולא השכיתו הליכד
 למען יראת הדוכים מועצו וכבדו יאגדו ממעשה אדם
 כלה נבונם יסדרו ומדרכיו ילכו לא יסורו ויתפלו ישימו
 אפ וטוב יחסדו לא יזועו כי באותם יאסדו שאתבט
 מעמית קצת אלהת קצין כי ממיטב קייתור הובל למלך השלש
 כסבזה נמסר הביא הרב לקטן והודיעו כי הומאם ולא שב
 ויסעו לא נפאח ושלח אלה למען יודה ויגבול לבת שובת
 כחם בוצעה עלכן תקמו אל באר הודה כי דם עבדי יתקם
 ונפשו כודת עתה אענך על שא אתך תשובה נחת אש
 הולדת למח לא שחרו ונענו לא נשחת כן היה רך לומר אלו היות
 עולם אתך ונשיבת אחת אבל להיות עולם שני הכל בר לטפח
 יש אלו שישוה עשוקים כח בעשוקים כי לעת תמוע
 דבם שם אל לשם נקם ולא יתאבל כל עשוק ורעין ועתה
 כי ישאל להחיות טוב ולא ישוב דיקם יענ כולא יחנע
 עשוק מוט עתה ולא בלעית יעור למסמך דך כי נשינס
 לכל אזורי מחוקן למחוק בית עובד אל למשך אעבד
 עמי שלת על מית המס נחיס הדעב ונחמו הכחד
 והיגור והעבדים והתנס והונר ומגד מן הדם לא שחרו
 כי אלה אלה אתה והחיות דביו יע אדמה כי אלה

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SAADIA'S POLEMIC AGAINST
HIWI AL-BALKHI

A FRAGMENT EDITED FROM A GENIZAH MS

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ציון לנשמת

דודי

ר' ישראל תנחום קלעבאנסקי ז"ל

אשר מנעורי גדלני כאב

נפטר לבית עולמו

יום ב' עשרה ימים לחדש אדר א'

שנת ה'תרע"ג לפ"ק

תנצ"בה

PREFACE

In the summer of 1914 it was my good fortune to spend a few weeks in that ancient seat of learning which is now the domicile of the greater part of the Cairo Genizah. Through the kind introduction of Dr. Schechter, the authorities of the Cambridge University Library extended to me the rare privilege of examining every part of the Genizah collection, and among the numerous fragments which had remained unclassified until then I discovered the important document presented here for the first time.

It is a great pleasure to have this opportunity of publicly acknowledging my indebtedness to Dr. Schechter for his kindly interest and encouragement in my work. I further wish to express my thanks to Dr. Francis Jenkinson, the Librarian, and Mr. H. G. Aldis, the Secretary of the University Library, for their courtesy in unreservedly placing before me the entire collection of the Genizah. It is my hope that the publication of this text together with the facsimile will enable others who work in the same field to discover the rest of this remarkable document.

I. D.

NEW YORK
April, 1915

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The annals of Jewish literature can point to many an important document that for centuries long lay buried and forgotten in the dust, and then was dug up and brought into the light of day, taking with it out of the dimness of obscurity into the glare of publicity the person or persons recorded therein. Witness, for instance, the *Chronicle of Ahimaaz*, coming from a Spanish library, and the *Scroll of Abiathar*, the *Letter of Chushiel ben Elhanan*, and the *Documents of Jewish Sectaries* issuing from the Cairo Genizah. Indeed, since the discovery of the Genizah, any number of documents have constantly been turning up which have given a better insight into the life of the Jews in the remote past. As Dr. Schechter himself some years ago testified, "new letters from the Eminences [Gaonim], addressed to their contemporaries . . . are daily coming to light. . . . Even entire new books, or fragments of such, composed by the Gaonim and only known by references, have been discovered."¹ How rich the Genizah is in literary treasures can be seen from the fact that one who has merely "gleaned in the field

¹ S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism* (New Series), Philadelphia, 1908, p. 28.

after the reapers" has been fortunate enough to light upon so important a document as the long-lost Polemic of Saadia against Ḥiwi Al-Balkhi.

For nearly one thousand years the name of Ḥiwi was practically forgotten. Saadia mentioned him once casually in his philosophical work,² and Ibn Ezra mentioned him three times in his Commentary on Exodus,³ while the chronicler Ibn Daud dilated upon the efforts which Saadia made to eradicate the influence of Ḥiwi,⁴ but, through a scribal error, all the older editions of this Chronicle read "Hamiel Kalbi" instead of "Ḥiwi Al-Balkhi."⁵ These casual references were not sufficient to keep the name of Ḥiwi alive in the annals of Jewish history and literature. As a result it is not to be wondered at if the sixth volume of Jost's *History of the Jews*, published in 1826, though dealing with the period of Saadia, contained no reference to Ḥiwi.⁶

The first to bring the name of Ḥiwi to the knowledge of the modern student of Jewish history and literature was S. J. Rapoport, in his *Biography of Saadia*, published in 1829.⁷ In this *Biography*, the

² ספר האמונות והדעות, ed. Slucki, p. 20.

³ Exod. 14, 27; 16, 13; 34, 29. The text of these passages is given below, chap. iii, sec. 10, c, d, e.

⁴ ספר הקבלה, ed. Neubauer, p. 66. Comp. below, chap. iii, sec. 11.

⁵ This error was copied by David Conforte in his קורא הדורות (fol. 4a).

⁶ Comp. Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, Berlin, 1826, pp. 86-97.

⁷ תולדות רס"ג, in בכוה"ל, 1829, pp. 20-37.

first of a brilliant series, Rapoport displayed such wide erudition and such keen historic sense and critical acumen that he drew upon himself the attention of the greatest scholars of the time. With his remarkable faculty for gathering data from neglected corners of history and literature, and reconstructing the past from them, he summed up the most essential characteristics of Ḥiwi within the compass of one Note.⁸ He was the first to point out the references to Ḥiwi in Saadia and Ibn Ezra mentioned above, as well as to detect the scribal error in the Chronicle of Ibn Daud, and to suggest the correct reading of “Ḥiwi” instead of “Ḥamiel,” a point which was, some sixty years later, corroborated by several manuscripts.⁹ From these scanty references, Rapoport drew two important conclusions: first, that Ḥiwi was not a Karaite, but a rationalistic critic of the Bible,¹⁰ and, second, that Saadia answered his criticism in a separate pamphlet. More than this he could not say. He held to the form *Kalbi* for

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 31, note 31.

⁹ ספר הקבלה, *l.c.*

¹⁰ Comp. Rapoport, תולדות רסג, note 31: רבים יחשבו שחזי זה קראי היה ואינו כן לדעתו שכל מה שמובא מחזי בראב"ז על ספר שמות אינו כלל מדרך הקראים רק מדרך מינות וכפירה בנסי התורה:

The opening words of this paragraph are somewhat puzzling. It is difficult to understand to whom Rapoport refers when he says that “many are of the opinion that Ḥiwi was a Karaite.” I can find no such statement anywhere.

Ḥiwi's surname, since all the sources known to him had that reading.

In 1847, however, S. D. Luzzatto published an extract from a manuscript copy of Barzilai's *Commentary on the Sepher Yezirah*,¹¹ which contained a quotation from a lost book of Saadia,¹² and in which was found a brief paragraph taken from his reply to Ḥiwi.¹³ From this paragraph Luzzatto drew the following conclusions: first, that Ḥiwi's surname was Al-Balkhi, meaning that he came from the city of Balkh, in Persia;¹⁴ second, that the work which formed the object of Saadia's Polemic consisted of two hundred questions, and, third, that Saadia's reply to these questions was written in the Hebrew language.¹⁵ Meanwhile S. Pinsker, in the course of gathering material for his epoch-making work on the history of the Karaites and their literature, found strong evidence in support of Rapoport's hypothesis that Ḥiwi was not a Karaite. This evidence

¹¹ Comp. ('לשנה א') בית האוצר, foll. 111b-12a, and הליכות קדם, p. 71.

¹² Graetz (*Geschichte*, V, 528) proved that this extract came from Saadia's כתאב אלהמיוז.

¹³ For the full text of this quotation, see below, chap. iii, sec. 4, a.

¹⁴ On the name of Ḥiwi, comp. Poznanski, חיירי הבלכי, in הגרן, VII, 113-114.

¹⁵ Curiously enough, Fürst (*Bib. Judaica*, I, 268) states that a large(!) fragment of the Hebrew translation(!) of Saadia's reply to Ḥiwi was preserved in Barzilai's *Commentary on the Sepher Yezirah*, and with his usual self-assurance gives even the Arabic title of this Polemic as כתאב אלרד עלי חיירי אלבלכי.

consisted of a quotation from Solomon b. Yeruḥam's Arabic Commentary on Ecclesiastes, in which Ḥiwi is taken to task for some of his questions and from which we gather that Ḥiwi was not an opponent of the Oral Law alone but of the Scriptures as well, and that he dealt in his Questions not only with the miracles of the Bible but also with anthropomorphic passages.¹⁶

The next scholar to throw further light upon Ḥiwi was Graetz. He showed, first of all, that Saadia's reply to Ḥiwi must have been written before the year 927.¹⁷ Then, having detected that the questions cited by Barzilai and by Solomon b. Yeruḥam corresponded to the fifth and sixth questions of the twelve enumerated by Saadia in the third chapter of his philosophic work,¹⁸ he arrived at the conclusion that at least all of the first ten must have originated with Ḥiwi.¹⁹ This enabled us to form a still clearer idea of the nature of Ḥiwi's critique.

¹⁶ לקוטי קדמוניות, p. 28. For the text of this quotation see below, chap. iii, sec. 5. In this connection it may also be mentioned that later on P. Frankel found another Karaite, Joseph Al-Baṣir, refuting the same question of Ḥiwi which Ibn Ezra cites in his Commentary on Exod. 14, 27 (*M.G.W.J.*, XX, 156-157), and Harkavy brought the testimony of Kirkisani, that the Karaite Abu Amran al-Taflisi also refuted Ḥiwi (זכרון רב סעדיה, p. 147). Pinsker persisted in regarding *Al-Kalbi* and not *Al-Balkhi* as the right form of Ḥiwi's surname.

¹⁷ *Geschichte*, V, 528.

¹⁸ ספר האמונות והדעות, p. 73; and below, chap. iii, sec. 4, i, ה-ד.

¹⁹ Graetz, *ibid.*, p. 534.

On the other hand, Dukes, Fürst, and Gottlober, though they dealt with the subject, have added nothing. Dukes merely mentioned the Polemic in one place^{19a} and in another brought the far-fetched suggestion that *Kalbi* signified "one who belonged to the tribe of *Kalb*."^{19b} Gottlober merely translated Fürst and Graetz,^{19c} while Fürst indulged in wild hypotheses.^{19d} He maintained, for instance, that Ḥiwi translated the Bible into Arabic, basing his theory upon Ibn Daud's remark that Ḥiwi בדה מלבו תורה, not seeing that this remark would apply to himself more fittingly. He also asserted that Saadia's reply to Ḥiwi was written in Arabic and that the Hebrew quotation by Barzilai was a translation, failing to see that Saadia was careful to say that he quoted his Polemic *verbatim* (וכן היתה תשובתי אליו בזה הלשון). He also persisted in considering Ḥiwi as a Karaite. The only guess in which he came near the truth was that Saadia's Polemic was written in rhymed prose. But here also he overreached himself by assuming that it consisted exactly of two hundred stanzas of four lines each.

^{19a} Comp. *Literaturhistorische Mittheilungen* (Stuttgart, 1844), pp. 33-34.

^{19b} Comp. *Philosophisches aus d. 10^{ten} Jahr.* (Nakel, 1868), p. 33.

^{19c} Comp. *בקרת לתולדות הקראים*, Wilna, 1865, pp. 113, 142, 167.

^{19d} Comp. *Geschichte des Karäerthums*, I, 106-107, 175-177; II, 30-31, and notes, pp. 10-11.

In 1878, Harkavy brought to light one more question of Ḥiwi from a quotation in a fragment of an Arabic Commentary on the Bible written either by Saadia or by Samuel Ibn Ḥofni.²⁰ The next year, Jacob Guttman published a minute study of the ten questions enumerated by Saadia,²¹ and, accepting Graetz's point of view, went a step farther to prove that they were not original with Ḥiwi, but were already found in the Midrash. According to Guttman, what Ḥiwi did was to take the questions of the Midrash and ignore the answers.²² In 1888, Israelsohn published one more question of Ḥiwi found in an Arabic Commentary on Deuteronomy,²³ and in 1891, after Darmesteter published *Texts Pehlvis relatifs au Judaïsme*,²⁴ Kaufmann made the conjecture that these Pahlavi texts were probably the source of Ḥiwi's inspiration.²⁵ Then, in 1891, Harkavy, in the first part of his work on Saadia, proved for the first time from a passage in the *Sepher*

²⁰ Comp. מאסה נדחים, I, 4, and below, chap. iii, sec. 6, a.

²¹ Comp. *M.G.W.J.*, XXVIII, 260-270, 289-300.

²² Comp. *ibid.*, p. 299, note 1, where Guttman adds this new point, that Saadia's remark concerning Manna: ואני רואה כי ענין ארת (ס' האמונות והדעות) המן יותר נפלא מכולם (p. 12), was probably directed against the same question of Ḥiwi which Ibn Ezra cites in his Commentary on Exod. 16, 13.

²³ *R.E.J.*, XVII, 310-312. He also drew attention to a parallel passage in ס' האמונה, p. 53. For the text of these passages see below, chap. iii, secs. 4, g, and 6, b.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, XVIII, 1-15.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, XXII, 287-289.

Haggalui that Ḥiwi's *Book of Two Hundred Questions* was composed about 875.²⁶ He also pointed out that the Karaite Abu Amran Altafisi is the earliest opponent of Ḥiwi that we know.²⁷

In 1892 Derenbourg discovered an anonymous philosophical work, erroneously ascribed to Bahya, in which he found the remarkable statement that Saadia wrote his reply to Ḥiwi's questions in Hebrew, because Ḥiwi was a follower of the Magi.²⁸ Thus, for the first time, we came into possession of positive evidence that Saadia's Polemic was written in Hebrew, as Luzzatto had conjectured from the first, and that Ḥiwi was influenced by the teachings of the Magi, as was suggested by Kaufmann.

In 1896, Harkavy further discovered a reference to Ḥiwi in an Arabic work of Moses Ibn Ezra, from which we learn that Ḥiwi was not only a rationalistic critic, but that he was also opposed to the essential principles of Judaism.²⁹

In 1901, Dr. Schechter, in discussing the Genizah text which he discovered and edited under the title of

²⁶ *זכרון רב סעדיה*, p. 147 and p. 176, ll. 12-14.

²⁷ Comp. *לקורות הכתות בישראל* in Heb. trans. of Graetz's *History*, III, 508.

²⁸ Comp. *R.E.J.*, XXV, 248-250. The complete text, bearing the title of *Kitāb ma'ānī al-nafs*, was published by Goldziher, Berlin, 1907. A Hebrew translation under the title of *ס' תורות הנפש* had been previously made by I. Broydé, Paris, 1896. For the passage concerning Ḥiwi see below, chap. iii, sec. 8.

²⁹ Comp. *חדשים גם ישנים*, VII, 33, and below, chap. iii, sec. 9.

"The Oldest Collection of Bible Difficulties by a Jew,"³⁰ touched also upon the characteristic of Ḥiwi's writings and was the first to suggest that Ibn Daud's remark that Ḥiwi "invented a new Torah" (ברה גילבו תורה) meant that he composed an expurgated Bible from which all passages that proved objectionable to Ḥiwi on historical or moral grounds were eliminated.³¹

Finally, in 1908, S. Poznanski wrote an exhaustive essay,³² in which he collected and co-ordinated all that is known of Ḥiwi up to the present; and while he rejected ten, or at least nine, of the twelve questions enumerated by Saadia as not of Ḥiwic origin,³³ and maintained that the three questions mentioned by Solomon b. Yeruham must be regarded as one,³⁴ he added, on the other hand, two more questions of Ḥiwi not noted before, one found in the Commentary of Ibn Ezra and the other in a MS copy of an Arabic Commentary on 1 Kings.³⁵

³⁰ *J.Q.R.*, XIII, 345-374.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 354-355. In that essay, Dr. Schechter was half inclined to regard the Bible Difficulties as identical with Ḥiwi's Two Hundred Questions, but even then and there he pointed out a number of objections, and concluded with the remark that he was just as much prepared for the acceptance of this hypothesis as for its rejection (*ibid.*, p. 357). I may add that, long before our text came to light, I had the privilege of learning from him by word of mouth that he no longer regarded that hypothesis as tenable.

³² חירי הבלכי in הגרן, VII, 112-137.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Nos. 2, 10; below, chap. iii, secs. 6, c, 10, b.

Summing up all the information that has been gathered concerning Ḥiwi from 1829 until now, we may say that he flourished about 850-875 and hailed from Balkh, a town in "Old Bactria." Coming under the influence of Zoroastrianism, and especially under the influence of a Persian work known to us by the title of *Shikand Gûmânîk Vijâr* ("Doubt-dispelling Explanations"), written after the middle, but before the end, of the ninth century,³⁶ he propounded two hundred questions relating to the Bible and to Jewish philosophy and theology. It may also be that some of these questions were based upon the various Biblical inconsistencies mentioned in the Midrashim. It is further suggested that, as a result of his critical attitude, he may have made a sort of expurgated Bible, intended for the use of children, from which all objectionable passages were eliminated and which was in vogue in the schools until Saadia interfered. On account of his skepticism, he was attacked by the Rabbanites as well as the Karaites, and Saadia even went to the length of writing a complete refutation of the two hundred questions. Of these, according to Poznanski, only ten could be described with certainty.³⁷

³⁶ Comp. *The Sacred Books of the East*, XXIV, p. xxvii.

³⁷ Poznanski groups these questions with the Biblical verses with which they deal, as follows: (1) Gen. 1, 2; (2) *ibid.* 3, 9; (3) Exod. 14, 27; (4) *ibid.* 16, 13; (5) *ibid.* 25, 8; (6) *ibid.*, the entire 25th chapter; (7) *ibid.* 34, 29; (8) Num. 14, 23; (9) Deut. 32, 9; (10) 1 Kings 7, 13-14.

But the order in which Ḥiwi's questions were written, and the language and style in which they were composed are matters that have still remained unsolved. On the other hand, Saadia's refutation was proven to have been written in Hebrew and in rhymed prose, and of this only a single quotation was known till now, the one cited in Barzilai's *Commentary on the Sepher Yezirah*. This, in brief, is all the information concerning Ḥiwi's questions and Saadia's replies that has been acquired up to the present.

The Genizah, however, restores to us now a large part of Saadia's Polemic, and enables us at the same time to get a clearer idea of the contents and character of Ḥiwi's Book of Questions, since from the replies we are able, in a measure, to reconstruct the corresponding questions. In the first place, we learn from one remark in this fragment that Ḥiwi composed his Book of Questions in a tongue that was not Hebrew,³⁸ most likely Arabic, and from another passage we may infer that he also wrote it in rhymed prose.³⁹ The former inference is supported by the fact that the author of the *Kitâb ma'ânî al-nafs* found it necessary to explain why Saadia replied to Ḥiwi in Hebrew.⁴⁰ If Ḥiwi had

³⁸ Comp. below, chap. ii, sec. 37: רבה הוצאת וצרתה בה לפני נכר.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, sec. 61: גם השיאוך חרוזים.

⁴⁰ Comp. below, chap. iii, sec. 8.

composed his questions in Hebrew, no excuse would have been necessary for Saadia's use of the same language. Without a doubt, if Saadia had written his philosophical work in Hebrew, he would have quoted his own Polemic literally. On the other hand, the fact that he did not cite Ḥiwi *verbatim* in his philosophic work is no proof that Ḥiwi's Questions were not written in Arabic, for the simple reason that the poetic style of Ḥiwi's composition did not lend itself to the didactic style of Saadia. Furthermore, our text puts us in a position to assert, with full confidence, that Graetz was right in assuming that the first ten questions in Saadia's philosophical work owed their origin to Ḥiwi's attacks, since, besides the fifth and sixth, which have been proved positively to be Ḥiwi's, we find that our text contains replies also to the fourth, seventh, and eleventh.⁴¹ Indeed, it gives us the right to assume that the twelfth also was directed against Ḥiwi.

Now, if we examine our text carefully, we shall find that it contains thirty-one replies to as many questions, if not to more, since in one instance Saadia seems to have regarded four questions as one.⁴² If to this number we add nine of the twelve questions given in Saadia's philosophic work, but not found

⁴¹ Comp. below, chap. ii, secs. 28, 29, 41, 65-68.

⁴² Comp. *ibid.*, sec. 10. כל אלה ורעב חלי פחד חום וקורו
שאלה אחת והרבית דברים.

in our text,⁴³ and seven of the ten questions arranged by Poznanski, not found in either of these sources,⁴⁴ we get a total of at least forty-seven questions, or about one-fourth of the contents of Ḥiwi's *Book of Two Hundred Questions*. This should give us a clear idea of what Ḥiwi aimed at in his writings, and should enable us to understand his religious attitude, whether he was merely a rationalistic critic, or the founder of a sect, or simply a skeptic, who had no higher aim than to poke fun at the Sacred Writings.

Let us first state briefly the questions in the order indicated above.

A. THE QUESTIONS DEDUCED FROM OUR TEXT

1. Why did God withhold the Tree of Life from Adam? (1-4)⁴⁵
2. Why did God accept Abel's gift and reject that of Cain? (5)
3. Why did God ask Cain where Abel was? (6)
4. Why did not God save the life of Abel? (7-9)
5. Why did God make man liable to suffering? (10, 11)
6. Why does not man live forever? (12-15)
7. Why was not man created holy and pure? (16-18)

⁴³ These are Nos. 1-3, 5, 6, 8-10, 12.

⁴⁴ These are Nos. 1-4, 7, 8, 10. No. 1 is deduced from the remarks in the *Kilāb ma'ānī al-naḥs*, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 7 are taken from Ibn Ezra's Commentary, No. 8 is found in an Arabic Commentary on Numbers, and No. 10 in a similar Commentary on 1 Kings.

⁴⁵ The numbers in parentheses refer to the sections in the Hebrew text below (chap. ii).

8. Why has God implanted evil in man, and has not freed him from the *Evil Yecer*? (19, 20)
9. God seems to have regretted that He created man. (20, 21)
10. Since God blessed men with the power to subdue the earth, why did He destroy them afterward? (22, 23)
11. Why did not God rest from inflicting punishment? (24)
12. Why were the earth and all the animals destroyed, together with man, in the flood? (25)
13. Why did God save Noah? (26, 27)
14. Why should blood of animals be acceptable to God as an atonement? (28, 29)
15. Why should God have feared that the builders of the Tower of Babel would wage war against Him? (31-34)
16. Why has God chosen the Jewish people as His own portion and given the other nations into the care of the angels? (35-40)
17. Is not circumcision the same as mutilation? (41)
18. Did not God change the name of Abram to Abraham that it may act as a charm? (42)
19. Are not the verses in Gen. 22, 17, and Deut. 7, 7, contradictory to each other? (43)
20. What is the meaning of the vision of Abraham? (44-46)
21. Why did God inflict the Egyptian servitude upon the offspring of Abraham? (47-49)
22. If Ishmael had not been born would not the Jews have suffered less? (50)
23. Is not the Godhead represented as three? (50)
24. Is not God represented as eating and accepting bribes? (51-56)
25. Wherein was Sodom more iniquitous than other cities that it should have met with such severe punishment? (57, 58)

26. Were not the descendants of Lot forbidden to be admitted in the assembly of the Lord, because of the incest in which their first ancestors were born? (59, 60)
27. Was it not foolish of Isaac to yield himself as a sacrifice? (61, 62)
28. Why should God have needed to put Abraham to test, since everything is known unto Him? (63, 64)
29. Why has God made the children of Esau more prosperous than the children of Jacob? (65-68)
30. Would not the tribes have lived in peace among themselves if they all had one mother as they had one father? (69)
31. Why was Jacob subjected to so much suffering? (70-73)

B. THE QUESTIONS RECORDED IN THE THIRD CHAPTER OF SAADIA'S PHILOSOPHIC WORK
NOT FOUND IN OUR TEXT

32. Are not many commandments in the Bible stated without giving a reason for them? (1)⁴⁶
33. Are not the verses in 2 Sam. 24, 7, and 1 Chron. 21, 5 contradictory to each other? (2)
34. Does not the Bible contain also impossible statements? (3)
35. How is it that the Creator made His light to dwell among men and left the angels without light? (5)
36. What need has God for tabernacle and curtain, for burning candles and sound of song, for the show bread and the smell of incense, for the offering of flower and wine, oil and fruit? (6)
37. How is it that the ashes of the red heifer make unclean people clean and *vice versa*? (8)

⁴⁶ The numbers in parentheses refer to the order of the questions in ס' האמונות והדעות.

38. How was it that a sacrifice was offered on the Day of Atonement to Azazel when that is the name of a demon? (9)
39. How could the breaking of the head of the heifer atone for the people when they committed no crime? (10)
40. Does not the Bible omit the mention of reward and punishment in the next world? (12)

C. QUESTIONS FOUND IN OTHER SOURCES

41. Concerning the pre-existence of the world. (1)⁴⁷
42. If Adam had not answered where he was God would not have found him. (2)
43. The Israelites crossed the Red Sea without any miracle, because Moses knew the ebb and flow of the sea and the Egyptians did not. (3)
44. The Manna was not a miraculous food but the Persian *Tarjabin* found in those parts of the world. (4)
45. When Moses came down from Mt. Sinai his face was so shrunk from long fasting that the people were afraid to look at him and therefore he was obliged to put on a veil. (7)
46. Since God first promised to give Palestine to the children of Israel, how is it that he swore afterward (Num. 14, 23) that He would not let them enter into it? (8)
47. The verses in 1 Kings 7, 13-14, and 2 Chron., 2, 13 contradict each other. (10)

If we carefully analyze the foregoing 47 questions, it will be seen that they may be classified under the following six heads: I. *God and His Attributes*;

⁴⁷ The numbers in parentheses correspond to the order in which Poznanski has arranged them.

II. *God and Creation*; III. *The Worship of God*; IV. *Miracles*; V. *Bible Difficulties*; VI. *Bible Exegesis*.

Under the first head would come the following ideas: The Godhead is not one, but three (24);⁴⁸ God is not Omnipotent, else why was He afraid to allow man to live forever? (1, 6); and why did He fear lest men wage war against Him? (16). He is not Omniscient, else why should He have had to ask Adam where he was? (43); and why should He have had to inquire of Cain after Abel? (3); and why did He put Abraham to test to make sure of his implicit faith? (29). Sometimes God acts like man (25, 37). He even practices enchantments (19). God is not always impartial and just (2, 4, 5, 10, 12, 17, 22, 26, 32). Sometimes He does not even keep His promises (47).

Under the second head may be grouped the following ideas: The World existed before Creation (42). God's Creation is so far imperfect that He himself had reason to regret it (7, 9, 36). God implanted evil in man (8, 15).

Under the third head come ẖIwi's objections to the sacrifice of animals (14), circumcision (18), and the scapegoat (39).

The fourth group contains arguments against miracles (44-45).

⁴⁸ The numbers in the following parentheses refer to the paragraphs in the preceding analysis.

The fifth group, or the group of Bible Difficulties, relates to the contradictions (20, 34, 48) and impossibilities (35) found in the Scriptures as well as to the laws for which no reason is given (33, 38, 40).

Under the last heading come the Biblical passages to which Ḥiwi seems to have given an interpretation of his own (11, 13, 21, 23, 27, 28, 31, 41, 46).

We see from this analysis that Ḥiwi was not merely a collector of Biblical inconsistencies but that he used the Bible as a basis upon which to build positive doctrines. His ideas about God in the main, and especially the emphasis he lays upon the fact that evil is inborn in man, and that God's work falls short of perfection, are in harmony with the statement of the author of the *Kitâb ma'ânî al-nafs* that he was inclined toward the religion of Zoroaster, the fundamental idea of which is that at the beginning of things there existed two spirits, Ormuzd and Ahriman, representing good and evil, and that both possessed the power to create. Perhaps his objection to the sacrifice of animals may also be due to Zoroastrian influence, since the protection of useful animals assumes the dignity of a doctrine in the Vendidad.⁴⁹

Additional testimony that Ḥiwi was a follower of the Magi may be deduced from the following remark of Ibn Danan. In speaking of Ḥiwi, he says that

⁴⁹ Comp. K. Geldner, "Zoroaster" (in *Enc. Brit.*, 9th ed., Vol. XXIV, 862b).

“he was a philosopher and a magician” (הוא חֵיִי) (פלוסוף ומכשף גדול היה).^{49a} Harkavy, assuming positively that Ibn Danan had no other source before him but the Chronicle of Ibn Daud, ascribes this remark to gross carelessness or wilful distortion of facts.^{49b} But in all possibility, Ibn Danan may have had other sources from which he learned of Ḥiwi's leaning toward the teachings of the Magi, and the term מִכְשֵׁף is to be taken as the rendering in Biblical Hebrew of the word *Magician* in its etymological significance of a follower of the Magi, not in its derived sense of enchanter.

That he was greatly influenced by the Pahlavi book *Shikand-Gûmânîk Vijâr* cannot be doubted, for on comparing the criticism of the Scriptures contained in the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of that book with the Questions of Ḥiwi, we find not only a similarity of tone but an actual identity of topics in at least three instances.⁵⁰ All his ideas concerning God are in harmony with the view of the Persian skeptic whose object, as clearly stated in the opening of the thirteenth chapter, is to show “the inconsistency and faulty statements of the first

^{49a} Comp. below, chap. iii, sec. 14, *b*.

^{49b} כְּשׁוֹף וּמִכְשֵׁף מֵאֵן דָּכַר, p. 147, note 1: וְהֵנָּה זֶה יוֹכֵל לִהְיוֹת לְמִשְׁלֵי אֵיךְ לֹא נִזְהָרוּ לְפַעֲמִים הָאֲחֵרוֹנִים בְּהַעֲתִיקָם אֶת דְּבָרֵי הַקְדְּמוֹנִים וְהוֹסִיפוּ וּגְרָעוּ כִּכְל הַעֲלָה עַל רוּחָם:

⁵⁰ Comp. below, chap. iii, sec. 1, *a*, *b*, *c*.

scripture,"⁵¹ i.e., the Old Testament. On the other hand, his question why God saved Noah (13) could not possibly have been inspired by Zoroastrianism since we find also in the Avesta that a winter depopulated the earth except in the enclosure of the blessed Yima.⁵² Nor can we reconcile the idea of a Trinity (23) with the teachings of Zoroaster. In fact, from one of Saadia's remarks it seems that he accused Ĥiwi of being a follower of Christianity, for he says to him, "Thou knowest that thy master

⁵¹ Comp. *The Sacred Books of the East*, XXIV, 208. The similarity between Ĥiwi's Questions and the Persian text will perhaps be made still clearer by the following analysis of the thirteenth chapter taken from the introduction of E. W. West to his edition of the Pāzand-Sanskrit text of the *Shikand Gūmānik Vijār* (Bombay, 1887), pp. xiv-xv. "The 13th chapter begins (1-4) a criticism of the Jewish Scriptures by pointing out apparent inconsistencies and absurdities in the first book of Moses. After quoting (§§ 5-47) many passages from the account of the creation and the fall of man, contained in Genesis i, 1-5, 26, 27, 31; ii, 1, 2, 15-17; iii, 1-19, 23, 24, besides referring to Exodus xx, 10, 11, Mardān-farukh proceeds to criticize this account especially with reference to the creation of light and the previous condition of the sacred being and the world (§§ 48-91), also as to why six days were necessary for the creation (§§ 92-99), how the days could have been formed before the sun (§§ 100, 101), why repose was requisite on the seventh day if the creation merely consisted of commands (§§ 102-105), why man was created disobedient, and why a command was given when it was known that he would not obey it (§§ 106-122), whether that command was not intended to maintain ignorance, so that man really owes his knowledge 'to the serpent and deceit' (§§ 123-131), and whether other details of the statement regarding the fall of man are not inconsistent with the omniscience, truth, and power of the sacred king (§§ 135-147). It is further pointed out that the curse inflicted on Adam could not be justly extended to his posterity (§§ 148, 149)."

⁵² Comp. A. V. W. Jackson, "Zoroaster" (in *Jew. Enc.*, XII, 696^b).

hath been eaten and drunk and absorbed and mixed up [in the body],”^{52a} which plainly refers to the Eucharist.

It seems, therefore, safe to assume that Ḥiwi, on the one hand, denied the truth of the Torah and, on the other hand, showed a leaning toward Christianity as well as the religion of Zoroaster. Whether he had separated himself entirely from Judaism and aimed at founding a new sect cannot be said with certainty,⁵³ but at all events he endeavored to spread his views throughout the schools by means of a new principle of Biblical exegesis. This would be in complete harmony with the account of Ibn Daud in which Ḥiwi is described as one of the sectarians and those who deny the Torah and as one who “invented a new Torah” (והשיב תשובות על המינים) ועל הכופרים בתורה. ואחד מהם הוי אלכלבי אשר בדה (מלבו תורה). The statement of Ibn Daud that Saadia testified to having seen this “invented Torah” taught to children בספרים ובלוחות, which has been taken to mean “in books and on tablets” led to the assumption that the teachings of Ḥiwi were embodied in some tangible, or even portable, form, in other words, an expurgated Bible. It is

^{52a} See below, chap. ii, sec. 54.

⁵³ The fact that Ḥiwi's teachings were in vogue in the schools argues against the supposition that he was the founder of a new sect. On the other hand, Ibn Danan's statement, והסית והדית הרבה מישראל (below, chap. iii, sec. 14, b), seems to support it.

my opinion, however, that these two words stand for two cities, or two districts in the Orient, though I am unable to identify them. This interpretation finds support in the fact that Saadia Ibn Danan, in quoting Ibn Daud, substitutes for these two words the expression *בְּעִירֵי אֲלֶבֶלֶךְ בַּבְּבֶל*, "in the cities of Albalkh in Babylonia."⁵⁴ This, of course, is geographically impossible, as Harkavy has pointed out,⁵⁵ but it does not follow, as Harkavy claims, that Ibn Danan was extremely careless.⁵⁶ It only shows that he took these two words as names of places and tried to identify them. We may, therefore, regard the theory that Ḥiwi composed a sort of expurgated Bible as doubtful, if not altogether erroneous. Further proof that Ibn Daud speaks of a method and not of books or tablets may be deduced from his last remark in which he says that the teachers taught this "invented Torah" until R. Saadia came and prevailed over them (*עַד שֶׁבָּא ר' סַעַדְיָה וַיִּנְצְחֵם*). That is, he prevailed upon the teachers to abandon the views of Ḥiwi. The word *וַיִּנְצְחֵם* would hardly have been employed if all they did was to teach the Bible in an abridged form, from books and tablets. It is more applicable to the abolition of ideas. Indeed, we are fully justified in assuming that Ibn Daud had in

⁵⁴ Comp. below, chap. iii, sec. 14, *b*.

⁵⁵ *זכרון רב סעדיה*, p. 147, note 1.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

mind Saadia's powerful and convincing refutation contained in the text before us.

That the text published here for the first time is the Polemic under discussion cannot be doubted.⁵⁷ On the one hand, we have here the replies to two questions, which we know from independent sources to have emanated from Ḥiwi (14, 16), and, on the other hand, the authorship of Saadia is firmly established by a threefold acrostic.

Our text is written in rhymed prose, and is divided into stanzas of four rhymes each. In accordance with the literary custom of the time this Polemic is made up of several series, or groups, of stanzas, bearing the letters of the alphabet in acrostic. The first group gives the letters in their regular order (א"ב), the next gives them in the reverse order (ב"א), and the next again has them once more in their regular order, and so forth. In addition to this customary plan of structure, Saadia introduced into each group of stanzas a secondary group, bearing his name in acrostic, so that the letters of the

⁵⁷ The MS bears now the shelf-mark T-S. 8. J. 30 and consists of two double sheets, making altogether eight continuous pages. The size of the paper is $6\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches, and the writing is in a legible square hand inclined somewhat to cursive. The first two pages contain 25 lines each, the next four pages 24 lines each, and the last two pages only 22 lines each, making a total of 190 lines. With very few exceptions the MS is unpointed, but dots are used to mark the rhymes, and strokes to indicate the ends of stanzas. The sequence of the leaves is fortunately established by the sequence of the rhymes as well as by the continuity of thought.

alphabet and those of his name follow each other alternately. This secondary group of stanzas, furthermore, is not distributed haphazard, but is placed with a care for symmetry and balance. Thus, in the first series, the author's acrostic (סעיד בן יוסף) numbers ten letters and is grouped so that each of these ten letters alternates with each of the last ten letters of the alphabet. In the second series the author's acrostic is placed in the middle, and since it contains only eight letters (סעיד אלה), it is grouped with the eight middle letters of the alphabet (i.e., ה-ט). The third series breaks off in the middle, but, from the fact that the author's acrostic here (. . . . סעיד ראש כל) begins immediately after the third letter of the alphabetic acrostic, we may assume that it extended up to the third letter from the end of the alphabet. In other words, it consisted of 16 letters (perhaps סעיד ראש כלה בן יוסף) and the whole series consisted of 38 stanzas.

Furthermore, from the fact that our text treats of 31 questions in 73 stanzas and that the number of stanzas in each group varies from 30 to 38, we may assume that the whole treatise dealing with the 200 questions must have comprised about 460 stanzas, or 14 groups. In other words, we have in our fragment about one-sixth of the entire work preserved. That our fragment is a part of the beginning of the treatise can be seen from the contents. But it

may very likely have been preceded by at least two groups in which the earlier part of Genesis was discussed.

Aside from these points of technique, our text holds other points of interest which tend to throw further light upon Saadia himself. Thus, from the author's acrostics סעיד ראש כלה and סעיד אלה, we learn, in corroboration of Graetz, that Saadia wrote this Polemic before he was elevated to the Gaonate, that is, before the year 928. Again, we see that Saadia applied the term אלה to himself and not to his father as Harkavy maintained,⁵⁸ and that the two terms אלה and ראש כלה are synonymous.⁵⁹ We also learn from several passages in our text⁶⁰ that Saadia in the interest of his religious views sometimes stretched his arguments to a point which was contrary to the opinion of the Talmud and Midrash.⁶¹ Furthermore, we find that many of the theological ideas which Saadia controverts in his philosophical work, without mentioning their sources, can, by help of our text, be traced back

⁵⁸ Comp. מאסה נדחים, III, 35; also in *Œuvres complètes de R. Saadia*, IX, p. xli. On this point, comp. also Poznanski, ענינים שונים הנוגעים לתקופת הגאונים, p. 62, § 17.

⁵⁹ Comp. Poznanski, *ibid.*, p. 46, note 1.

⁶⁰ Comp. below, chap. ii, secs. 20 (note 126), 24 (note 142), 31 (note 157), 35 (note 177).

⁶¹ Comp. also Rapoport, תולדות ר' חננאל, pp. 44-46; Pinsker, לקוטי קדמוניות, pp. 111-112, and נספחים, pp. 13-14; Weiss, דור דור ודורשיו, IV, 140.

to Ḥiwi's Questions.⁶² It is therefore not unlikely that if we knew more of these Questions we should find more parallels in Saadia's philosophic work. It is also most probable that if we had Saadia's Biblical Commentary we should find in it parallels to our Polemic. One such parallel, at least, we have now in his remark that in the Vision of Abraham (Gen. 15) there is an allusion to the Resurrection.⁶³

That there is an intimate connection between Saadia's polemical monographs and his Biblical commentaries has already been pointed out by Hartwig Hirschfeld.⁶⁴ This scholar justly argued that the usual classification of Saadia's works into Biblical, halakhic, polemical, and philosophical is too mechanical. According to him, "it appears more probable that the bulk of his works followed a distinct and well-arranged plan, in the centre of which we find his translation and commentary on the Bible, and from which radiated monographs on various chapters of the Jewish law code which needed special protection from Karaite interference."⁶⁵ The interdependence of Saadia's Commentary and his polemical writings cannot be gainsaid. But instead of regarding the Commentary as the central work from

⁶² Comp. below, chap. ii, secs. 10, 11, 12-15, 16-18, 20, 21, 28, 29, 36-40, 41, 47, 49, 50-55, 65-68, and chap. iii, sec. 4, *c*, *e-o*.

⁶³ Comp. below, chap. ii, secs. 44, 45, and also note 242 at the end.

⁶⁴ *J.Q.R.*, XVII, 714.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, *l.c.*

which the smaller monographs radiated, I am rather inclined to believe that it was his crowning work in which he repeated and enlarged upon the ideas promulgated in his earlier writings. In fact, Dr. Hirschfeld himself had, on another occasion, pointed out that in his Commentary on Leviticus Saadia "repeated, and perhaps enlarged, his former arguments against Anan."⁶⁶ Indeed, one gains the impression that his earlier writings, such as his polemics against Anan and Ḥiwi, served him as a sketch for his later writings on Bible and philosophy. And it is for this reason that our text contains nothing in the line of philosophy which we do not already know from his philosophic work.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, XIX, 137.

CHAPTER II

[ספר תשובות ר' סעדיה גאון על שאלות היורי הבלכני]⁶⁷

- 1 על כן עץ החיים ממנו נגרעת⁶⁸ להיותו מוסר⁶⁹ לכל כסילים ישנאו דעת⁷⁰
- 2 כתבת כי נזהר היוצר מן הנוצר. ולא מהכמה שאלת על זה⁷¹ להפצר⁷² כי יוצר הכל גבורת ידו לא תקצר. ולא יירא ולא יגור מן האדם הנעצר:
3 לו ירא מפניו המיתו. ולו פחד פן יאכל עץ הכריתו. אבל גירשו ולא השכיחו הליכתו. למיך יראה הכרובים מונעיו ותגדל דאגתו:
- 4 ממעשה אדם כל הנבונים יוסרו⁷³ ומדרכי

⁶⁷ Comp. Harkavy, זכרון רב סעדיה, pp. 176 and 177, l. 13; Poznanski, "An Ancient Bookseller's Catalogue," *J.Q.R.*, XIII, 54, No. 71.

⁶⁸ MS reads: נגרעת.

⁶⁹ Comp. Jer. 5, 3.

⁷⁰ Prov. 1, 22.

⁷¹ Eccles. 7, 10.

⁷² 1 Sam. 15, 23.

⁷³ This recalls the words of the Midrash (ר' IX, 5): ראוי היה אדם הראשון שלא יטעום טעם מות ולמה נקנסה בו מיתה? אלא צפה הקבה שנבוכדנצר וחירם עתידין לעשות עצמן אלוהות לפיכך נקנסה בו מיתה. This parallel was brought to my attention

CHAPTER II

[SAADIA'S POLEMIC AGAINST ḤIWI AL-BALKHI]

1. . . . Therefore hath the tree of life been withheld from him, that he be a warning to all fools that hate knowledge.
2. Thou hast written, that the Creator was on His guard against the one created; but in thy stubbornness thou hast not inquired wisely concerning this. For, being the Creator of all things, the strength of His hand doth not wax short; He feareth not nor doth He stand in awe of man whom He hath restrained.
3. If He were in fear of him, He would have put him to death, and if He were alarmed lest he eat of the tree [of life] He would have cut it down. But He drove him out and did not cause him to forget his expulsion, in order that he may see the Cherubim who bar him [the way] and that his anxiety may wax great.
4. By the conduct of Adam all understanding men are admonished and do not turn away from the ways of God; but they who are godless in heart

by my colleague, Dr. L. Ginzberg. I take this opportunity of thanking him also for the references given below in notes 112, 120, 141, 168 173, 176, 197, 202, 252.

- אלהיהם לא יסורון. והנפי לב ישימו אס⁷⁴ וטוב
 יחסרון. לא ישועו כי באולתם יאסרון;⁷⁵
- 5 *שאת⁷⁶ בניו מנחות רצה אל את הקטן.
 כי ממיטב מיהיו⁷⁷ הוביל למלך השלטון. נמבזה
 ונמס⁷⁸ הביא הרב לקטן⁷⁹ והודיעו כי הומאס ולא
 שב ויסטון;
- 6 נגס את ושאלו אלוה למיץ יודה⁸⁰ ויתחולל⁸¹
 בתשובתו כמסבב וצודה⁸² על כן נקמו אל באס
 רודה⁸³ כי דם עבדיו יקום⁸⁴ ונפשו⁸⁵ פודה;
 7 *ענה אענך על שאלתך תשובה נצחת⁸⁶.
 אשר אמרת למה לא שמרו ונינו לא נשחת. כן היה

⁷⁴ Comp. Job 36, 13.

⁷⁵ From the preceding paragraphs we gather that Hiwi asked why Adam was not allowed to eat of the tree of knowledge. Comp. the parallel in the Pahlavi text, below, chap. iii, sec. 1, a.

⁷⁶ Comp. Gen. 44, 1.

⁷⁷ Comp. Ps. 66, 15.

⁷⁸ I Sam. 15, 9.

⁷⁹ Comp. *b. Joma* 15b: הפתוחות לטרקלין (כקטניות). Though etymologically קיטון (*koitaw*) means a side chamber, it may be rendered here "sanctuary" with reference to מדרש הגדול, Gen. 4, 3: והקריבו מנחה לה' על אותו המזבח שהקריב עליו אדם הראשון. Comp. also פדרא, chap. 21. Dr. Ginzberg suggested to me the reading of לקטן which is to be construed as a verbal noun from לקט (comp. Zunz, *Synagog. Poesie*, p. 398, for analogous formations). According to this reading the phrase should be rendered: "The elder brought a bundle that was vile and refuse." But it seems to me that the ל of לקטן must be taken as a preposition modifying the verb הביא, just as in the parallel phrase the ל of למלך modifies the verb הוביל.

lay up anger and are deprived of good; they cry not for help, because they are bound in their folly.

5. When his sons brought offerings God favored the younger, because he brought of the best of his fatlings to the ruling King: what was vile and refuse that the elder brought to the sanctuary. So He let him know that he was despised; but he did not repent, he hated.
6. He struck his brother, and God inquired of him so that he might confess, but in his reply he feigned [innocence] with cunning and craft. Therefore hath God wreaked His vengeance on him with a ruling anger; for He avengeth the blood of His servants and redeemeth their soul.
7. I shall reply to thy question with a strong reply. Thou sayest: "Why hath He not guarded him [Abel] so that his posterity should not have been destroyed?" Thus shouldst thou have said if there were but one world and one habitation,

⁸⁰ Ḥiwi's question must have been directed against Gen. 4, 9: "And the Lord said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother?" For a parallel, comp. below, chap. iii, secs. 1, *b*, and 10, *b*. For the Rabbinic interpretation of this passage, comp. *Rashi*, *ad loc.*: **לִיכֹנֶס עִמּוֹ בְּדִבְרֵי נַחַת** אֲוִלֵּי יִשׁוּב וַיֹּאמֶר אָנִי הִרְגֹתִיו וְחִטָּאתִי לָךְ.

⁸¹ 1 Sam. 21, 14.

⁸² *Ibid.* 24, 11. Comp. *Rashi*, Gen. 4, 9: **לֹא יָדַעְתִּי נַעֲשֶׂה כְּגֹנֵב** דַּעַת הָעֲלִיוֹנָה.

⁸³ Isa. 14, 6.

⁸⁵ Context requires **וּנְפֶשׁ**.

⁸⁴ Deut. 32, 43.

⁸⁶ Jer. 8, 5.

לך לומר אילו היה עולם אחד וישיבה⁸⁷ אחת: אבל
בהיות עולם שני הכל בר⁸⁸ לתוכחת:

8 שוש אל ישישו העושקים פה בעושקים: כי לעת
תמוט רגלם⁸⁹ שם יאל⁹⁰ לשלם נקם: ולא יתאבל כל
עשוק ורצוץ ונעקם⁹¹: כי יש לאל להחליפו טוב
ולא ישוב ריקם⁹²:

9 *יען כי לא ימנע עושק מנשות [י]דו: ולא
בכל עת יציל נחמס מ[או]דו: כי⁹³ יש יום לכל אחד
בחוקו למדדו: בין עובד אל לאשר [ל]א עבדו⁹⁴:
10 עוד שאלת על מיני היסורים: הרעב והחלי והפחד
והשוד והשברים: והחום והקור למה מן האדם לא
נעדרים: כל אלה שאלה אחת והרבית דברים:

II [*ד]ע וראה כי אלוה || לטובת יצורים (i verso)
ייסרם: למען ידעו כאב המוסרים ותמרורים: ויחדלו
מעשות רע אשר לזה יסגירם⁹⁵: ולא היו מכירים
אילו העדירים⁹⁶:

⁸⁷ Comp. Isa. 45, 18: לשבת יצרה.

⁸⁸ 3d sing. perf. of בּרַר.

⁸⁹ Deut. 32, 35.

⁹⁰ Comp. Job 6, 9.

⁹¹ Post-Biblical Nifal of עָקַם.

⁹² Jer. 50, 9.

⁹³ כי is used here in the sense of לָכֵן.

⁹⁴ Mal. 3, 18.

⁹⁵ Construe the clause as if it read ויסגירם לזה אשר יחדלו מעשות רע.

⁹⁶ This point is developed at greater length in ס' האמונות והדעות, pp. 76-77. Comp. below, chap. iii, sec. 4, l. It is worth noting that

but since there is a second world, He chose everything with a view for reproof.

8. Let them not rejoice who exercise oppression here [in this world], for at the time when their foot shall slide there [in the next world] He will choose to pay with vengeance; and let him not mourn who is oppressed and crushed and circumvented, for God can change it into good, and he shall not return empty.
9. Because the oppressor will not cease from putting forth his hand, and the one who suffereth violence will not always rescue his possessions, therefore there is a day when everyone will be measured by His law, both he that serveth God and he that serveth Him not.
10. Thou hast asked further concerning the kinds of suffering; hunger and sickness, fear and desolation and destruction, and heat and cold, why they are not kept from men. All these are but one question and thou hast multiplied words.
11. Know thou and understand, that God chastiseth His creatures for their good, that they may know the pain of chastisement and the bitterness thereof; He delivereth them to it that they may forbear to do wrong. For they would not know [what punishment was] if He had withheld [suffering] from them.

the Midrash (9, 10 ב"ר) gives a different reason: וכי מדת יסורין טוב מאד אתמהא. אלא שעל ידיה הבריות באים לחיי העהב.

- 12 פלאות התמהת והקשית לשאול: „למה לא יהיה האדם לעד ולא ירד שאול?” מי יתן ונוצר מתחלה בעולם הבא לגאול.⁹⁷ ואֵה כי תתאיו⁹⁸ לעמדו פה במצור ובתאול;⁹⁹
- 13 * בעשותו כל אלה יש רבים מורדים. ובהפחידו אותם בצרותיהם יש בדתו בוגדים. קל וחומר אם לא היו פוחדים. אז היו שכם אחד כולם לא היו עובדים;¹⁰⁰
- 14 צוֹרֶתֶךָ. הִמֵּן החכמה לחיותה לעד. או¹⁰¹ להצילה מצרה וצוקה ורעד. אי זו דעת תשפוט לחלצך ממעד.¹⁰² כי סרה דברת¹⁰³ על שוכן עד:
- 15 * נכוננו ללצים שפטים ומלהומות.¹⁰⁴ ערוך למי מאתמול תפתח¹⁰⁵ בהמות. אשר חשך לעת צר ליום קרב ומלהומות.¹⁰⁶ גם אתה כאחד מהם בכלעם אל נקמות:

⁹⁷ Comp. האמוהד¹⁰, p. 76 (see below, chap. iii, sec. 4, j, o).

⁹⁸ Prov. 24, 1.

⁹⁹ A paitanic derivation from אלה / חאלה. Comp. Lam. 3, 65. See also Saadia, אזהרות, § 59, ונרתנס לזר להתאל. The idea is also found in the Midrash (ב"ר, 9, 7): מפני מה נגזרה מיתה על: הצדיקים אלא כל זמן שהצדיקים חיים הם נלחמים עם יצרן. כיוי שהם מתים הן נחין.

¹⁰⁰ Comp. Zeph. 3, 9.

¹⁰¹ MS reads: אֵה.

12. Thou hast expressed wonder and amazement and hast asked a difficult question, "Why doth man not live forever so that he shall not go down to Sheol?" Would that from the beginning he were created to be in the world that is to come for redemption, but thou desirest him to remain in siege and under a curse.
13. Though He doth all these things, there are many who yet rebel, and though He frighteneth them with calamities, there are [many] who are yet faithless to His decree. How much more if they had no cause to fear. They would then all with one accord not serve Him.
14. Is it wise to make thy image live forever, or to save it from distress and anguish and trembling? What knowledge, dost thou judge, will save thee from falling [into ruin] that thou hast spoken rebellion against Him who dwelleth forever?
15. For the scorners judgments and stripes are prepared, Topheth is of old prepared for them in wrath. He preserved it against the time of trouble, against the day of battle and war. Thou also like one of them wilt share the anger of the God of vengeance.

¹⁰² Comp. Ps. 18, 37.

¹⁰³ Jer. 28, 16.

¹⁰⁴ Prov. 19, 29.

¹⁰⁵ Isa. 30, 33.

¹⁰⁶ Comp. Job 38, 23.

16 קדוש איך לא יצרו—אמרת—מבית ומחוץ. וכלי
מלא צואה¹⁰⁷ מזה יועיל בהיותו רחוק. ומשלחו
בשרץ¹⁰⁸ ובלבינה בטמאתו¹⁰⁹ לרחוק. הנני אשיבך
מליך¹¹⁰ ודברי נחוק¹¹¹:

17 *ידע תדע כי אין טומאה בחדרי האדם.
כי כל מימיו לא יקראו טמאות עד היפרדם.¹¹² על
כן בהיפרדם כאשר צוה יוסדם. קדושים המה
מלפנים ולחיצון בכל מאדם.¹¹³

18 רק הטמאות¹¹⁴ טומאת הרשע בהם תבך. אזלו
מים מני ים¹¹⁵ ולא יטהר מאַפֶּקֶת¹¹⁶. ומה יועילו ללב
כופר כל מימי נבך¹¹⁷ והאל אמר כבסי מרעה לבך.¹¹⁸
19 *ועוד אמרת מחשבות און בו ייסד.¹¹⁹
ונשטת מלזכור מחשבות שלום ואמת וחסד. כן כל

¹⁰⁷ Comp. the expression אשה חמת מלא צואה (*b. Shabbath* 152a).

¹⁰⁸ Comp. *b. Ta'anith* 16a: שרץ בידו דומה לאדם שתופס שרץ בידו שאפילו טובל בכל מימות שבעולם לא עלתה לו טבילה.

¹⁰⁹ Comp. *Mishnah Kelim* 2, 1: שבירתן היא טהרתן.

¹¹⁰ *Job* 35, 4.

¹¹¹ *1 Sam.* 21, 9.

¹¹² Comp. *Mishnah Niddah* 5, 1: הזב ובעל קרי אינן מטמאין; עד שתצא טומאתן בחוץ טומאת בית הסתרים; also *b. Niddah* 41b: אינה מטמאה.

¹¹³ The topic discussed in secs. 16, 17 is developed at length in *האמורה*, pp. 76, 100. Comp. below, chap. iii, sec. 4, *k, m*.

¹¹⁴ Read: הטמאים.

¹¹⁵ *Job* 14, 11.

16. "How is it," sayest thou, "that He hath not formed him (man) holy from within and from without; for, what availeth a vessel full of excrement that it be washed. Thou hast likened him unto an unclean reptile and unto an earthen vessel which remain unclean though washed. Behold, I shall answer thee, though my reply be in haste.
17. Know thou that there is nothing unclean in the innermost parts of man, that all his fluids are not called unclean until they separate [from the body]. Therefore, when they have separated as their Maker hath ordained, they are indeed clean from within and from without.
18. Only for them that are unclean with the uncleanliness of wickedness mayest thou weep. The waters will fail from the sea, but he who causeth confusion will not be cleansed. For what availeth the heart of an infidel all the waters of the spring since God hath said, "Wash thy heart from wickedness"?
19. And again thou hast said that He hath inbred evil thoughts in him (man) and hast failed to

¹¹⁶ A paitanic derivation of אבך. Comp. פסיקתא רבתי, secs. 29, 30 (ed. Friedmann, p. 137b): והיו ב' העשנים מתאבכין ועולין: where אבך is used in the sense of entanglement.

¹¹⁷ Comp. Job 38, 16.

¹¹⁸ Jer. 4, 14.

¹¹⁹ Isa. 28, 16. Ḥiwi's question undoubtedly dealt with Gen. 6, 5; 8, 21.

שכן רע¹²⁰ יעש בהיווסד¹²¹ יהשב את הנותר ולא
את ההפס[ד]!¹²²

20 שקר אמר[ת] כי ראה לא טוב עשה¹²³ ופתרון

„וינח[ם]”¹²⁴ כמתנחם להר[גך]¹²⁵ ולתת למשיסה

„ויתעצב” || העציבם¹²⁶ וכל הדומה לו במשא¹²⁷ (2^{recto})

ממעשה אלהינו אשר ביצורים נעשה!

21 * סיה „שבת וינפש”¹²⁸ השבית והנפיש

פתרונו¹²⁹ „ויעל”¹²⁹ „וירד”¹³⁰ העלה והוריד פשרונו

אמר¹²⁰ Comp. פסיקתא רבתי, sec. 31 (ed. Friedmann, p. 143b): לו הקב"ה לדוד. הא דוד שכן רע אתה. שיבבא בישא מני מעלתא א"ל הקב"ה: 3: §, וילך, sec. תנחומא, Comp. also נפקתא למשה אתה דומה לשכן רע שרואה את הנכנסות ואינו רואה את היוצאות.

¹²¹ Comp. Ps. 31, 14: בהווסד יחד עלי.

¹²² The same proverb is also cited by Burckhardt in his *Arabic Proverbs* (London, 1875), No. 134.

¹²³ Ḥiwi's question must have dealt with Gen. 6, 5-6. For a parallel in the Pahlavi text, see below, chap. iii, sec. 1, c.

¹²⁴ Gen. 6, 6. Ibn Ezra, *ad loc.*, quotes Saadia's interpretation anonymously: ויש אומרים כי וינחם כמו מתנחם לך להרגך, but in Gen. 27, 42 he mentions Saadia by name: מתנחם . . . והגאון אמר מגזרת וועד בלשון ערבי.

¹²⁵ Gen. 27, 42.

¹²⁶ This interpretation agrees with Saadia's Arabic translation of this verse (comp. *Œuvres complètes de R. Saadia*, I, 12): ואוצל ואמשקה אלי קלובתם, i.e., "He brought grief into their [men's] heart." It is worth noting that this interpretation of ויתעצב is already found in *Targum Onkelos*, *ad loc.*: ואמר במימריה למתברר . . . והקפיהון כרעותיה האדם, except that Saadia takes לבו to refer to האדם.

mention the thoughts of peace and truth and loving-kindness. So doth every wicked neighbor act when he taketh counsel, he counteth the gain but not the loss.

20. It is false what thou hast said that He saw that He made what was not good. The meaning of וינחם ("it repenteth Him") is like the meaning of כמתנחם להרגך ("he planneth to kill thee") and give thee for a spoil. "It grieved Him" meaneth He caused them to grieve, and so are [to be interpreted] all similar utterances relating to the works of our God done unto His creatures.
21. The expression "He rested and was refreshed" is to be interpreted "He caused others to rest

mentioned previously, while Onkelos takes it to refer to God. Comp. *Rashi*, *ad loc.*: עלה במחשבתו אל לבו־של מקום. של מקום להעציבו וכו' Dr. Ginzberg called my attention to the fact that Saadia opposes here the literal interpretation of the Midrash עכ"ם אחד שאל את ריב"ק. א"ל אין אתם אומרים: (27, 7 ב"ר) שהקב"ה רואה את הנולד? א"ל הין: והא כתיב ויתעצב אל לבו א"ל בשעת חדוותא חדוותא בשעת אבלא אבלא: א"ל כך מעשה לפני הקב"ה.

¹²⁷ Comp. Isa. 13, 1.

¹²⁸ Exod. 31, 17. Comp. his Arabic translation, *ad loc.*: עטלהא ואראתהא.

¹²⁹ Gen. 17, 22. In his Arabic translation he renders the phrase ארתפע נור אללה by ויעל אלהים. Comp. also האמונה, p. 53: ואשר אמר ויתעצב עמו שם. רוצים בו האור ההוא שנקרא שכינה. ואשר אמר וילך י"י כאשר כלה. רוצים בו לעלות האור ההוא.

¹³⁰ Gen. 11, 5. Comp. Arabic translation: פאורד אללה אמרא מדגלא.

„ישמח“¹³¹ „ויתעצב“¹³² שימח והעציב ענינו. וכן
 „אפו“ וקצפו „והיים ברצונו“¹³³;

22 תולדותיו בירך מתחילה הארץ לכבוש.¹³⁴ כי ידע
 כי ישחיתו וכל יקומם¹³⁵ יבוש. ויהיו לאות לדורות
 והמאמין בזכרם יחבוש.¹³⁶ ועל יומם נשמו אחרונים¹³⁷
 ואלוה גאות ילבוש:

23 * פצתה;¹³⁸ „איך דרכם לא הצליח?“ והלא
 כחם הצמיח ובתכונתם הצליח. והשביח והפריח
 והצריח¹³⁹ והרויח. והשגיח והבטיח להוכיח ולהניח:
 24 תתבלע הכמתך¹⁴⁰ יוסר אלוה בתוכחה. האומר:
 „מדוע מדין וחשבון לא שם לנפשו מנוחה?“¹⁴¹ והלא

¹³¹ Ps. 104, 31.

¹³² Gen. 6, 6.

¹³³ Ps. 30, 6. The method of exegesis adopted in the last two paragraphs (20, 21), which has its aim to remove anthropomorphism from the Bible, is dwelt upon at length in the second chapter of האמורה, pp. 51, 54. Comp. also sec. 64, below, and chap. iii, sec. 4, f, h.

¹³⁴ Gen. 1, 28.

¹³⁶ Comp. Job 34, 17.

¹³⁵ Deut. 11, 6.

¹³⁷ Ibid. 18, 20.

¹³⁸ Comp. Kalir, *Kerobot* for the second day of Passover: פצת תנוך הטו.

¹³⁹ Comp. Judg. 9, 49.

¹⁴⁰ Comp. Ps. 107, 27.

¹⁴¹ This seems to be based on the Midrash (ר"ב xi, 11): ממלאכת עולמו שבת ולא שבת לא ממלאכת הרשעים ולא ממלאכת הצדיקים. . . . מנין שפורענות של רשעים קרויה מלאכה שנאמר (ירמיה נ' כ"ה) פתח י"י את אוצרו ויוצא את כלי זעמו כי מלאכה היא.

and to be refreshed." "He went up" and "He went down" meaneth "He caused others to go up and to go down." "He rejoiceth" and "He grieveth" implieth that He caused others to rejoice and to grieve, and so [interpret] "His anger" and "His wrath" and "in His favor is life."

22. He first blessed His creatures to subdue the earth, though He knew that they will corrupt and that all their substance will wither; that they will become a warning forever and that the faithful will restrain himself when he thinketh of their fate; that they who come after shall be astonished at their day and God will be apparelled in majesty.
23. "How was it, then," thou hast asked, "that He did not prosper their way?" But, indeed, He hath made their strength to grow and their understanding to thrive, and hath caused them to improve and to blossom forth, and He hath fortified them and enlarged them and hath taken care of them and hath promised to reprove them and then to give them peace.
24. May thy wit be at its end, thou who arguest against God with reproach; who sayest, "Why hath He not rested from judgment and reckoning?" But indeed He who hath created the whole universe by His word doth not tire, nor

כל העולם ומלואו ברא בשיחה. לא ייעץ ולא ייגע
וישפטמו בפצחה:¹⁴²

25 שאלת: "למה זה נשתתה עם האדם האדמה.
גם העוף והרמש החיה והבהמה?"¹⁴³ כלם לכבודו
נבראו והם עמו בנעימה.¹⁴⁴ ואחריו ימשכו בנהרצה
ושמה:

26 רגנת¹⁴⁵ "מדוע השאיר מזרע מרעים פליטה?"¹⁴⁶
למה לא ישריד נח והוא לא הטא. אילו השחיתו
הייתה אומרי במבטא. האם יספה צדיק עם רשע?¹⁴⁷
ללחשה:

27 קל וחומר על מקנה וקניין¹⁴⁸ תחלונך. על צדיק
ותמים אם אבד כמה תחאונך. עתה כל חכם מדבר[ך]
יתבונן. כי עלילות תתעולל¹⁴⁹ ועונך תעונך.¹⁵⁰
28 צדיק וחכם אם נשפט את אויל בתוכחת. ורגז

¹⁴² This is another case where Saadia ignores the Midrash when the question of anthropomorphism is involved.

¹⁴³ Hiwi's question was directed against Gen. 6, 7, 13. Comp. *b. Sanhedrin* 108a: אם אדם חטא בהמה מה חטא.

¹⁴⁴ Comp. אדרג, end of chap. iv: בשלשה דברים שינה הקב"ה. את בני אדם זה מזה אלו הן בקול בנעימה ובמראה. *b. Sanhedrin* 38a has נעימה instead of דעת. Comp. also 8, 14.

¹⁴⁵ Comp. Isa. 29, 24.

¹⁴⁶ Comp. אותן לא נשתיירו מהן פליטה ואלו ב"ר 28, 5: נשתיירה מהם פליטה.

¹⁴⁷ Gen. 18, 23.

doth He become fatigued; He judgeth them with His breath.

25. Thou hast asked, "Why was the earth destroyed together with man, also the fowl and creeping things, the beasts and the cattle?" All of them were created for his [man's] glory and they were of one disposition with him, therefore were they drawn after him unto destruction and desolation.
26. Thou hast complained: "Why hath He left a remnant of the seed of evildoers?" But wherefore should He not have left Noah since he hath not sinned. Had He destroyed him, thou wouldst have said, "Doth He consume in flame the righteous together with the wicked!"
27. If concerning cattle and worldly goods thou complainest, how much more wouldst thou complain if the righteous and the pure were lost? Now every wise man can understand from thy words that thou art mocking and practicing deceit.
28. If a righteous and wise man hath a controversy with a foolish man, whether he be angry or laugh there will be no rest. Thus turnest thou about to find slander that may be spread, and

¹⁴⁸ Ezek. 38, 12.

¹⁴⁹ Comp. Num. 22, 29.

¹⁵⁰ Comp. *Sifra*, קדושים, sec. 3, chap. vi: לא תשננו. אלו
אוחזר עינים.

ושחק ואין נחת.¹⁵¹ כן תחת[פך] למצוא רבה נשלחת.
ושאלת על חלב ודם איך נרצו כמקרה;¹⁵²

29 פירושה כתב אלהינו בדת מוסר.¹⁵³ כי בדם שוכנת

נפש כל בשר.¹⁵⁴ על כן על המזבח לכפרה אותו לנו

מסר. למען זכר כי בשר אנה[נו] ונכנע || ונתירס;¹⁵⁵ (2 verso)

30 על יצר הרע דרשת לביה לא העבירו. אכן שאלת

להעביר מצותו וזיהורו. גם ללא בראות אדם ולא

מדורו.¹⁵⁶ אולי תרצה פתי היועץ את יוצרו:

31 שטית לומר כי להלחם בנו מגדל. ודברך זה

שקר.¹⁵⁷ יסוף וידל. זו דרכך הרע מן הכזב לא תחדל.

ופעמים תשנהו כי ברעה תתגדל:

32 *שרים נפילים אמרת.¹⁵⁸ ולא כתוב כן.

¹⁵¹ Prov. 29, 9.

¹⁵² Comp. Gen. 8, 21.

¹⁵³ Pass. part. of מסר. Comp. אבות I, 1.

¹⁵⁴ Lev. 17, 11.

¹⁵⁵ This question is dealt with in האמונה, pp. 72-73. Comp. below, chap. iii, sec. 4, i, ד.

¹⁵⁶ Comp. IX, 7: "ב"ר טוב מאד זה יצר הרע. וכי יצר הרע טוב. טוב מאד הוא אתמהא. אלא שאלולי יצר הרע לא בנה אדם בית ולא נשא אשה ולא הוליד בנים.

נחלקו לג' כחות . . . כחות. ¹⁵⁷ Comp., however, b. Sanhedrin 109a: . . . כחות. ואחת אומרת נעלה ונעשה מלחמה.

¹⁵⁸ For the use of שרים in the sense of "angels," comp. Dan. 12, 1 אין הקב"ה פורע מאומה למטה עד שמשפיל: 8, 14: שהשר and איש אחד חלק לך¹ והשאר. Comp. also below, § 36, שריה למעלה.

hast asked concerning fat and blood, how they could be accepted as sweet savor.

29. Our God hath explained its meaning in the Law handed down to us, that the life of all flesh is in the blood, therefore hath He given it to us to bring on the altar as an atonement that we may remember that we are but flesh and thereby be humbled and reprov'd.
30. Concerning the evil *Yezer* thou hast inquired, why He hath not removed him. But, indeed, thou hast asked thereby to remove His commandments and His prohibitions. Perhaps, thou, O fool! who counselest his Creator, desirest also that neither man nor his habitation should have been created.
31. Thou hast gone astray in saying that they built the tower [of Babel] to wage war. This assertion of thine is false and must end. It is thine evil way not to desist from falsehood, and because thou pridest thyself of evil thou hast repeated it twice.
32. Thou hast said that the "Nephilim," the [fallen] angels [built the Tower of Babel], but it is not written so, for it is also said that the "Nephilim" were in Hebron in the days of Moses. And thou

לשרים. As to the *Nephilim* being the fallen angels, comp. *Pseudo Jonathan*, Gen. 6, 4: שִׁמְיָא וְהָרוּ שִׁמְחָזַי וְעֻזָּאֵל הֵינֻן נָפְלוּ מִן שָׁמַיָא וְהָרוּ בְּדֶרֶשׁ הַגְּדוֹל and בְּאֶרֶץ בְּיוֹמֵי אֲהִינֻן *ad loc.*

כי בימי משה¹⁵⁹ בחברון נפילים נאמר כן¹⁶⁰ ונמקה
השם להבעיסם נתירא מהן¹⁶¹ אכן ובלל שפתם
וינפצם משכן¹⁶²:

33 * עורך מדבר תהפכת¹⁶³ גדולות תהפש
עולות¹⁶⁴ אשה אל אהותה לא מקבילות¹⁶⁵ כי זה
יוכל הנברא לעשות ליוצר פעולות והוא רוחו
ונשמחו אליו יאסוף¹⁶⁶ לכלות:

34 זה צוום לפרץ על פני תבל ארצה כאשר כתוב
בבניו „ומאלה נפצה“¹⁶⁷ והם יזמו להתאסף¹⁶⁸ רי-
לא רצה לכן משם הפיצם על פני כל הוצה¹⁶⁹:

35 * צדקו עבדים רבים¹⁷⁰ ולא יכתבו לנו
דבריהם בגלל כי אין לנו מוסר¹⁷¹ בקראתנו מעשיהם:

¹⁵⁹ Comp. Num. 13, 33.

¹⁶⁰ Read גם כן. Ḥiwi seems to have maintained that the fallen angels built the Tower of Babel, to which Saadia objected on the ground that the Nephilim are also mentioned in the days of Moses. Dr. Ginzberg suggested to me that נאמר כן is an abbreviation for נאמר „וגם אחרי כן“ in Gen. 6, 4: i.e., while Ḥiwi took the phrase to refer to the builders of the Tower of Babel, Saadia maintained that it referred to the Nephilim of the time of Moses. He also brought to my attention two passages ascribed to Eupolemos, in one of which it is stated that the Giants who escaped the Deluge founded the city of Babylon and built the renowned Tower, and in the other of which it is said that Giants dwelt in Babylonia and on account of their impiety were destroyed by the Gods through a deluge, but Belos who escaped death settled in Babylonia and built a tower which was named after him. (Comp. J. Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, I, 92.)

hast said that God was in fear of them to provoke them with anger, but He hath confounded their language and hath scattered them from dwelling together.

33. Thou speakest still with exceeding perverseness and seekest things unjust not one of which doth agree with the other; for what can the one created do unto Him who createth all deeds, who gathereth unto himself his spirit and his soul when He chooseth to make an end of him?
34. Noah commanded them to spread upon the face of the inhabitable world, as it is written of his children; "and of these was [the whole earth] overspread," whereas they planned to gather together. But God did not wish it, therefore hath He scattered them abroad upon the face of all the highways.
35. Many servants there be that are righteous, yet their history is not told unto us, because there

¹⁶¹ Ḥiwi's idea that God feared the men who built the tower must have been based on Gen. 11, 6: **וַיִּתֵּן לֹא יִבְצֹר מֵהֶם כָּל אֲשֶׁר יִזְמֹר לַעֲשׂוֹת**.

¹⁶² Comp. Gen. 11, 9.

¹⁶⁵ Comp. Exod. 26, 5.

¹⁶³ Comp. Prov. 2, 12.

¹⁶⁶ Job 34, 14.

¹⁶⁴ Comp. Ps. 64, 7.

¹⁶⁷ Gen. 9, 19.

¹⁶⁸ Comp. **וְרֹדְפֵי הַפֶּשֶׁט אֹמְרִים שְׁלֹא הָיָה דַּעְתָּם אֵלָּא שִׁיחִיו יַחַד מִחֻבְּבִים** to Gen. 11, 2.

¹⁶⁹ Gen. 11, 9.

¹⁷⁰ MS reads **רַבִּים עֲבָדִים**, but the diacritic mark over **עֲבָדִים** indicates the transposition, or perhaps the entire omission, of that word.

¹⁷¹ Prov. 1, 3.

ומעשה אב המון¹⁷² כתב לנו להיוסר בהם¹⁷³ ואתה

אמרתה כל הנשאים לא נה בהם¹⁷⁴:

36 מיה לך לספר חקי¹⁷⁵ האלהים הישרים ולאמר

כי¹⁷⁶ איש אחד חלק לי¹⁷⁷ והשאר לשרים¹⁷⁷ גם עיר

קטנה נחלתו מכל המבצרים¹⁷⁸ על כן אמר לו

אלוה "לך לך"¹⁷⁹ בניאמרים!

37 *דבה הוצאת וצרתה בה לפני נכר. אם

איש אחד ועיר אחת לא השאר למי יזכר¹⁸⁰ והלא

אפס זולתו ואין עמו אל נכר¹⁸¹ כל שר וגדול אומלל

ונעבר;

¹⁷² Gen. 17, 14.

יפה שיחתן של עבדי בתי אבות מתורתן: 60, 8: ב"ר. ¹⁷³ Comp. של בנים פרשתו של אליעזר שנים וג' דפים היא אומרה ושונה וכו'.

ולא נה בהם ¹⁷⁴ Ezek. 7, 11. According to Rashi's interpretation of (אין בהם נוהה אחריי מגעגע ונותן לב אלי) we might render the last clause of this stanza as follows: "Thou, however, hast said that as to all others there was no one among them who followed the Lord."

¹⁷⁵ Ps. 50, 16.

¹⁷⁶ In the MS there is a stroke through the word כי.

¹⁷⁷ In האמוהד, p. 53, Saadia voices the same objection: comp. below, chap. iii, secs. 4, g; 6, b. This is another instance where Saadia rejects the opinion of the Midrash, for Hiwi's view is found in several Agadic passages. Comp. פדרא, chap. 24: ונפל גורלו של הקבה. על אברהם ועל ביתו . . . ומנה מלאך על כל לשון ולשון ונפל הגורל על אברהם. In *Yalkut ha-Makhiri* Ps. 55, 2 the version is ונפל זרעו . . . ומנה מלאך על כל אומה ואומה וישראל נפל

is no instruction to be gotten from their deeds, but the deeds of the Father of Multitudes are written that we may be taught by them. Thou, however, hast said [that as to] all others there was no one of distinction among them.

36. What right hast thou to qualify the plain statutes of God and say that one man [Abraham] is God's portion and the rest [of mankind] is that of the [tutelary] angels, also that one small city [Jerusalem] is of all fortified cities His possession, therefore hath God said to him [Abraham], "Go thee"!
37. It is an evil report that thou hast brought and hast shouted to strangers. For, if God hath [chosen] but one man and one city, who would remember the rest [of mankind]? For, verily, there is none beside Him, and there is no strange God with Him; whether angel or great man languisheth and is troubled.

לחלקו ולגורלו. Comp. also Wertheimer, *בתי מדרשות*, II, p. 14: ומאז והלאה הובדלו כל אומה ולשון למלאך שלה לחלקה ולא נשאר לחלק הקב"ה זולתי אברהם לבדו וזרעו אחריו.

¹⁷⁸ Comp. *b. Zebachim* 119a: נחלה זו ירושלים.

¹⁷⁹ Gen. 12, 1.

¹⁸⁰ This clause is translated as if it read אם איש אחד ועיר אחת *לאל*, the last *ל* of *לאל* has by mistake been transferred to *מי* *יזכר*.

¹⁸¹ Deut. 32, 12.

38 לא ידעת כי בלשונות אשר בני האדם מחבבים.
 בם בלשונות ירומם אלוה כל אהובים. כמו חבל
 האיש ונחלתו וחלקו עליו נאהבים. מסגולה ההיא
 ויותר מימנה יראי אלהים השובים;¹⁸²

39 *אומרי "למה העליתנו" ¹⁸³אם ¹⁸⁴נקראו
 עם נבל.¹⁸⁵ ואתה|| בחרפך ובגדפך כזאת כמה תתנבל.
 והלא שפת יתר לא נארה לנבל.¹⁸⁶ אף כי שפת שקר
 עמל ועון מכורבל;¹⁸⁷

(3 recto)

40 כאשר יאמר משל ההגריאים. "היענים לא מן
 הראים ולא מן הנושאים."¹⁸⁸ כן אתה פנית אל חלק
 ונחלה הנקראים.¹⁸⁹ והנחתה ¹⁹⁰הן ל"י אלהיך השמים
 חבל ומלאים;¹⁹¹

¹⁸² The idea expressed in this paragraph is that דברה תורה כלשון דבר אדם. It is more fully elaborated in האמונה, p. 52. Comp. below, chap. iii, sec. 4, f.

¹⁸³ Num. 20, 5.

¹⁸⁴ Read הם, or else construe אם in the sense of אמנם; comp. Gen. 47, 18.

¹⁸⁵ Deut. 32, 6.

¹⁸⁶ Prov. 17, 7.

¹⁸⁷ 1 Chron. 15, 27.

¹⁸⁸ Professor Goldziher and my colleague, Professor Friedlaender, have each suggested that this is very likely an erroneous rendering of the Arabic proverb cited by Damiri (ed. 1284), II, 422: مثل النعامة

i.e., "Like the ostrich neither bird nor camel."

This proverb if correctly rendered should therefore have read: כמו היענים לא מן הצפרים ולא מן הגמלים. Professor Goldziher explains that הנושאים was used instead of הגמלים because the original

38. Thou dost not know that in the language by which men express their love, in that very language God exalts all those who are beloved unto Him; they are beloved unto Him like man's lot and his possession and his portion; nay, they who are God-fearing are even dearer unto Him than such treasures.
39. [On the other hand] they who said, "Wherefore have ye made us to come up [out of Egypt]", were called foolish people. Thou, however, on account of thy abuse and blasphemy art becoming disgraced. Indeed, fine speech becometh not a fool, much less do lying lips cloaked with mischief and iniquity.
40. As the proverb of the Arabs says, "The ostriches neither see nor carry burdens," so hast thou turned to those who are called portion and possession and hast disregarded that to God, thy Lord, are the Heavens, the world and the fulness thereof.

may have read **جمل** instead of **جمل**. But aside from the fact that Saadia's knowledge of Arabic was too sound to suppose such a misunderstanding on his part, the word **הראים** remains unexplained. My colleague, Professor Ginzberg, suggests the reading: **היענים לא מן הראים ולא מן הסומאים**. In either case the application of the proverb to the context is somewhat obscure.

¹⁸⁹ Construe the phrase as if it read **פנית אל הנקראים חלק ונחלה**.

¹⁹⁰ Comp. Hos. 4, 17.

¹⁹¹ Comp. Ps. 89, 12.

- 41 * לעזתה על הברית¹⁹² ודמית¹⁹³ לשרשת¹⁹⁴.
 והלא אין חיים לאנוש בלא רשומה נחרשת. כי
 מעת היולדם טיבורם נקמשת. וגם המילה תהי
 תוספת חיים מילטת¹⁹⁵;
- 42 יקר בעיניו והוסיק בשמו אל¹⁹⁶. ותאמר כי ניהש
 ואיך יעונן האל¹⁹⁷! הלילה לא נהש ביעקב ולא קסם
 בישראל. כעת יאמר לבו מיה פעל אל¹⁹⁸;
- 43 * ולא יכחישו זה את זה שני הכתובים¹⁹⁹.
 כי בניו המיעט בעיני נפשם²⁰⁰ ומספרם ככוכבים.
 ואם כמה פעמים היו קצותם נחשבים. אבל כלם
 לא נספרו משלם ולא נכתבים;

¹⁹² Comp. Gen. 17, 11.

¹⁹³ Read ודמיתה.

¹⁹⁴ Comp. Lev. 21, 5.

¹⁹⁵ Comp. Mishnah *Nedarim* III, 11: לא נקרא שלם עד שמיל, also *b. Nedarim* 32a. Saadia dwells upon this subject in *האמונה*, p. 73. Comp. below, chap. iii, sec. 4, i, 1.

¹⁹⁶ Comp. Gen. 17, 5; Neh. 9, 7, and ב"ר, chap. 39, 11 (ed. Theodor, p. 375, note 6): על שמך ה' ומוסיה ה' על שמך.

¹⁹⁷ Comp. *b. Rosh Hashanah* 16b: ד' דברים מקרעין גזר דינו של אדם. אלו הן צדקה. צעקה. שינוי השם ושינוי מעשה. . . . שינוי מעשה דכתיב שרי אשתך לא תקרא את שמה שרי כי שרה שמה וכתוב וברכתי אותה. Maimonides (II, 4) seems to feel that this is open to the charge of soothsaying and therefore explains כלומר אני אחר ואיני אותו האיש שם שינוי שם שעה אותן המעשים.

41. Thou hast mocked the Covenant [of Abraham] and hast likened it to mutilation. But, indeed, men do not start life without the imprint of a mark, for from the time of their birth their navel is shrunk and circumcision likewise saveth life from a thing that is superfluous.
42. [Abram] was dear unto Him so He enlarged his name [to Abraham] which thou hast considered an enchantment. But doth God practice sooth-saying? Far be it from Him. "There is no enchantment with Jacob, neither is there any divination with Israel and now shall it be said of them what God hath wrought."
43. And there is no contradiction between the two verses (Gen. 22, 17; Deut. 7, 7) for his (Abraham's) children were the fewest in their own eyes though their numbers were like the stars. And though many times parts of them were counted, yet all of them were never completely counted or written down.

¹⁹⁸ Comp. Num. 23, 23.

¹⁹⁹ The reference is to Gen. 22, 17: והרבה ארבה את זרעך ככוכבי השמים, and Deut. 7, 7: כי אתם המעט מכל העמים.

²⁰⁰ Comp. *Rashi* to Deut. 7, 7: כי אתם המעט הממעטין עצמכם; also *b. Hulin* 89a: בשעה שאני משפיע לכם גדולה אתם ממעטין עצמכם לפני. It is significant, however, that in his Arabic translation Saadia renders this passage by בל אתם אקל מנהם מגמועין, i.e., "for you are fewer than all of them taken together."

- 44 טעמי המיחזה והבתרים²⁰¹ לא היבנת ענינם. על
 כן נבהלת בשמעך את הזונם. הרק ואגידה לך את
 פתרונם. כי תחיית המתים כתובה בהביונם:²⁰²
- 45 *פגרים בותרו והורד הציפור עליהם.
 וישב אותם אברם²⁰³ וינידם ויחיו כולהם.²⁰⁴ ולכן
 הקדים תת כל בתר לקראת רעתו מהם. בקרב עצם
 אל עצמו לפחת בהם חייהם:
- 46 חיל האל הגדול הזה בראותו. חייב לצוות כן
 את בניו ואת ביתו. למען לא ידאגו ב[ן] העינוי
 בביאתו. ויבטחו כי אחריו יודיע י"י ישועתו:²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ Gen. 15, 9 *et seq.*

²⁰² This symbolic interpretation of the vision of Abraham is already found in an old Midrash preserved in מדרש הגדול (ed. Schechter, p. 240): אבא חנן אומ' אם הראהו תחיית המתים:

²⁰³ Comp. Gen. 15, 10-11.

²⁰⁴ This interpretation of Gen. 15, 11 is also implied in the same Midrash quoted above (מה"ג, *ibid.*): וישב אותם אברם נטל את האיברים ונתנן זה בזה וכיון שירד עליהן הצפור חיו ופרחו הם וצע and is also found in the extract from his Commentary cited by Dunash ibn Labrat (ed. Schröter, No. 7), where the additional statement is found: כי אלולי לא הִתְקִיָּה [צ"ל: הִתְקַם] הקִבָּה אחר שחיטתה: וניתוחה [צ"ל: שחיטתם וניתוחם] באי זו אות היה מאמין שיעשה מה שנשבע לו. It is worth noting, however, that with the possible exception of Saadia's Commentary our text is the only place where Saadia states that the vision of Abraham was symbolic of the

44. Thou hast failed to understand the meaning of the vision [of Abraham] and the dismembered animals, therefore hast thou been astonished by hearing of them; but refrain and let me tell thee their significance, that in their mystery is written the idea of resurrection.
45. The carcasses were dismembered and the birds were caused to come down upon them, and Abraham blew upon them and made them to move and they returned to life, therefore had he first laid each half over against the other in order to breathe life into them when bone came near unto bone.
46. When he saw the power of this great God he felt it his duty to command his children and his household that they shall not feel anxious when affliction came and shall trust that in the days after him God will make His salvation known.

Resurrection (תחיית המתים כתובה בחביונם). It is not found in האמוהד, nor is it implied in the passage quoted by Dunash. What misled Geiger (כרם חמד, V, 100) and others (Poznanski in *Studies in Jewish Literature*, Berlin, 1913, p. 252) to assume that in that passage Saadia spoke of the Resurrection was the reply which Ibn Ezra made to Dunash. In that reply Ibn Ezra says: ואני אומר שדרך הגאון לרדוף אחרי קדמונינו ז"ל. והם אמרו זה מדעתם כי מאיה מקום ראה ראה על תחיית המתים (שפת יתר, ed. Lippmann, p. 6a). Geiger took the words תחיית המתים to mean Resurrection, whereas the real meaning is "the coming into life of the dismembered animals," and refers to Saadia's statement that the slaughtered animals came into life, as a sign that God would keep His promise.

²⁰⁵ Comp. Ps. 98, 2.

- 47 זרעך יעונה ויעובד ארבע מאות²⁰⁶ תמהת אך
גזר עלינו זה בלי הטאות²⁰⁷ דע לך כי יש לאדונינו
פלאות לענות עבדם לעשות עמם לטוב אות²⁰⁸;
48 ואבותינו במצרים יקן כי הורגו עליו ולא נסוג
אהור לבם מלשווע אליו²⁰⁹ נתן מן שכרם עין ואש
ומין וסליו || ורב טוב אשר צפן ליום תגמוליו;
(3 verso)
49 הלא כאשר ייסר איש את בנו²¹⁰ בשיבטו²¹¹
ושיקרו יכאיבו וירב עצבוננו להחדילו מרעתו ומחליו
ולעשות רצונו כן י"י אלהינו ייסר את עם הבית;
50 דברת כי נולד ישמעאל שעבוד ישראל הכפיל²¹²
אם זה לא נולד ביד אחר היה²¹³ אותם מפיל
אחרי זה אצתה שקר להטפיל²¹⁴ להצות לשלשה²¹⁵
אל מרים ומשפיל²¹⁶;

²⁰⁶ Comp. Gen. 15, 13.

²⁰⁷ Comp. S. Schechter, "The Oldest Collection of Bible Difficulties by a Jew" (*J.Q.R.*, XIII, 360): חי עולם הבטית האב והסבירו: כה יהיה זרעך והאמין בדברו ואיך אחרי כן ענהו באה והמרירו: כי גר יהיה זרעך בארץ צר להפך את האתוה.

²⁰⁸ Comp. Deut. 8, 16; Ps. 86, 17. Saadia discusses this point also in האמוהד, p. 100. Comp. below, chap. iii, sec. 4, n.

²⁰⁹ Comp. Ps. 44, 19, 23.

²¹⁰ Deut. 8, 5.

²¹¹ Read בשמנו and comp. Hos. 2, 7.

²¹² Comp. *b. Sukkah* 52b: ארבעה מתחרט עליהן הקב"ה שבראם ואלו הן: גלות כשדים וישמעאלים ויצחק.

²¹³ MS reads היתה, but the error is indicated by a diacritic sign over the ה.

²¹⁴ Comp. Job 13, 4.

²¹⁵ Comp. Judg. 9, 43: ויחצם לשלשה ראשים.

47. "Thy seed shall be afflicted and enslaved four hundred years." Thou hast wondered why He decreed this against them that did not sin. Know thou that our Lord hath His secrets. He caused them to be slaves so as to humble them and to show them a token for good.
48. Because our forefathers in Egypt were killed for His sake, and because their heart did not turn away from crying unto Him for help, He gave them as a reward the clouds and [the pillars of] fire and manna and the quails and the great good which He hath laid up for the day of recompense.
49. For, just as when a man chastiseth his son, he causes him pain and mortifies him with his oil and his drink in order to hold him back from evil and from sickness and to do what is good for him, so doth God, our Lord, chasten his tumultuous people.
50. Thou hast said that the birth of Ishmael caused the servitude of Israel to double. But if he were not born He would have thrown them into

²¹⁶ Saadia discusses this subject at length in **האמורה**, p. 47 (comp. below, chap. iii, sec. 4, *e*). It is also worth while to quote the words of Ibn Ezra (Gen. 18, 1) together with the commentary of Joseph Bonfils (**צפנת פענח**, ed. Herzog, p. 102): **ותועי רוח אמרו כי השם הוא אחד והוא שלשה** פירוש בעבור שכתוב והנה שלשה אנשים ("יח. ב') על כן אמרו שהוא שלשה ובעבור שכתוב וירא אליו יי והכל בפרשה אחת על כן אמרו כי אותם השלשה הם אחד: ולא יתפרדו: פירוש: לא נמצאו כי אם שלשתם ביחד: והנה שכתו ויבואו שני המלאכים סדומה: פירוש: ואחר שהם שנים הנה האחד מהשלשה נפרד ואיך אמרו שלא יתפרדו ועוד כי כשנשארו שנים אינם אחד ולא שלשה והנה בטלה דעתם.

51 גם אמרתה כי אכל בשר ולחם ובקחתו שחד
בישרו בפטר רחם ושבט ואמרת חלילה לאל ומלאכיו
מאכל לחם שמע את אשר פיך מדבר ואל תכזב
ותלהם:

52 בכל עיניך „וירא אליו י"י" ²¹⁷ אם התבוננת לא
מדת בי"י כי מפורש ויפנו וילכו מלאכי י"י
ואברהם עודנו עומד לפני י"י: ²¹⁸

53 אור י"י אשר נראה מתחלה בחזיונות לא הוא
האנשים ולא אחד מדמויות: ²¹⁹ כי אחרי לכתם
עודנו נצב ככתוב בהגיונות ²²⁰ ואיך יהיה הוא המה
מדברך איש זדונות ושגיונות:

54 אתה ידעת את כל הרעה אשר ידע לבבך: ²²¹ כי
אדניך נאכל ונשתה ונשרף ²²² ויאובך: ²²³ לכן ביקשת
להפוך זה על יריבך. ובלא יכולת שמתו אוכל
ושותה בכתבך:

²¹⁷ Gen. 18, 1-33.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.* 18, 22.

²¹⁹ The meaning is that 'וירא אליו ה' and וירא אנשים are two distinct appearances.

²²⁰ Gen. 18, 22.

²²¹ 1 Kings 2, 44.

²²² Comp. *Mishnah Aboda Zarah* II, 5: כהן שדעתו יפה שורפה חיה.

²²³ This unquestionably refers to the Eucharist. Saadia, then, accuses Ḥiwi of being a follower of Christianity.

the hands of another people. After this thou hastened to forge a lie, to divide into three the God who lifteth up and bringeth low.

51. Thou hast also said that He ate of meat and bread, and that after taking a bribe He gave him the good tidings of a first-born, and on the other hand, thou hast said far be it from God and His angels to partake of food. Hear, then, what, thy mouth speaketh and do not lie and engage in dispute.
52. If thou hadst given careful thought to the entire passage of "God appeared to him" thou wouldst not have rebelled against God, for it is clearly written, "And the angels of God turned and went, but Abraham stood yet before the Lord."
53. The Appearance [literally: the light] of God which was seen [by Abraham] first is not [identical with] the appearance of the men, for it is written that even after they went he yet stood [before the Lord] and how could He be they as thou sayest, Oh man of insolence and error!
54. Thou knowest all the wickedness which thy heart is privy to that thy Master hath been eaten and drunk and absorbed and mixed up [in the body], therefore hast thou sought to turn this upon thy opponent, and being unable, hast presented Him in thy writings as one who doth eat and drink.

- 55 בורא הכל הוא ואיך יאכל. ולשמים וארץ לא יצרך כי כל יוכל. אף בלאכיו ישרפון ולא יאכלו מיאכל. ככתוב ואכלת את כל העמים ואינו מאכל;²²⁴
- 56 גם הסעודה לפגרים להחליפם כח. חלק אשר ישאב האויר וכל יגיעת כח. ואל שדי ברוך הנותן ליעק כח.²²⁵ זכור קצה שבהו אשר הקדמנו ואל תשכחם שכוח;
- 57 * "סדום ועמורה" — אמרתה — "מה גדלה אשמתם. מהטאת כל האומות ומשפחתם ללשונותם?" ואתה לא || נסיתה את הראשונים ומפעלותם.²²⁶ אף (4 recto) לא בהנת את האחרונים ועונותם;
- 58 דברי עזות בלא דעת איך תדבר. והנה קטן אתה ובזוי.²²⁷ מדעת כל אשר יתחבר. ואיש אשר על ריב לא לו מתעבר. דומה למהזיק באזני כלב עובר;²²⁸
- 59 * על אשר לא קדמו נפסלו בני לוט.²²⁹

²²⁴ Read: ואינם מאכל, Saadia cites here a Biblical instance (Deut. 7, 16) where אכל cannot possibly have but a figurative meaning.

²²⁵ Comp. Isa. 40, 29.

²²⁶ MS reads ומפעולתם.

²²⁷ Comp. Jer. 49, 15.

²²⁸ Comp. Prov. 26, 17. Our text shows that Saadia connects the word עבר with כלב and not with מתעבר as the Masorah. This is exactly what we find in his Arabic translation of this verse (see *Œuvres complètes de R. Saadia*, VI, 156). Ibn Nachmias in his Commentary on Proverbs (ed. Bamberger) quotes this construction in the name of Saadia.

55. He is the creator of all things and how should He eat? Neither the heavens nor the earth doth He need, for He can do all things; even His angels consume by fire but do not eat food, as it is written, "Thou shalt consume all the people," and they [the people] are no food.
56. Even to the body food is only to give new strength in exchange of that which is drawn out by the air and weariness; but as to God Almighty, blessed be He, who giveth strength to the weary, remember but a part of His glory which we have mentioned before and do not forget it.
57. "In what way," sayest thou, "hath the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah been greater than the sin of other nations and families after their languages?" But, surely, thou hast not probed the former and their deeds nor hast thou examined the latter and their sins.
58. How darest thou speak words of insolence without knowledge? Behold, thou art small and unworthy of knowing all that is being written, and the man that vexeth himself with strife belonging not to him is like one that taketh a running dog by the ear.
59. Because they did not meet [the people of Israel with bread and with water in the way] the

²²⁹ Deut. 23, 4-5.

והפכתה ותשיתהו בעבור ערות הלוט.²³⁰ ותשקר על
אל כי הוא השכיבו לקלוט. וזה מִפְעוּלֹת²³¹ אדם
והאלהים ממנו יפלוט:

60 הכלם לא נכלמת כי לא יודע עול בושח.²³² ונהפך
בלשונו יפול ברעה וברשח.²³³ אילו נולדו עמונים
ומואבים מן התר אשת. ולא קדמו גם בזאת [לבד]
למעין שח:²³⁴

61 * ישר²³⁵ השומע בקול חכם הרזים. קראתו
... גם השיאוך הרזים. באמרך כי השומע לקול
חכם הוא בער בנבזים. אמרת כי יהיה חכם השומע
לקול כסילים רקים ופחזים:

62 ואיפשר לאדם כי ימיתהו אל בדבריו. ויתן לו
גמול טוב שמה תחת מוסרו. וכן איפשר להמיתהו
על ידי צירו. ולתת לזה שכרו וגם לאשר שמע
דברו:

²³⁰ Comp. Isa. 25, 7.

²³¹ MS reads מִפְעוּלֹת, with a stroke through the second מ.

²³² Zeph. 3, 5.

²³³ Prov. 17, 20.

²³⁴ Comp. Ps. 84, 7: מעין ישיתהו. It has perhaps reference to the Midrashic comment on this verse, viz.: שהדמעות שלהן נמשכות (מדרש תהלים) כמעין. I feel, however, that this is somewhat far-fetched. If the MS did not read distinctly למעין, we might suggest reading עליהם עון שח.

²³⁵ This refers to Isaac who implicitly obeyed Abraham when led to the altar.

children of Lot became unfit [to enter into the assembly of the Lord], but thou hast turned it about and hast ascribed it to the incest committed under cover; thou hast spoken falsehood against God that He hath caused him to lie down to cause conception, whereas this is the work of man in which God taketh no part.

60. Thou hast shown no shame, for the wicked knoweth no shame and he that hath a perverse tongue falleth into mischief and into a trap. Even if the Ammonites and the Moabites had been offspring of a lawful marriage but had not met [the Israelites with bread and with water in the way], by this [alone] He would have given them cause to weep.
61. The upright who hearkened unto the voice of the wise in all secrets thou hast called carried away by the rhyme. But in saying that he who obeyeth the voice of a wise man is the most despised of fools thou hast declared that he shall be considered wise who listeneth to the voice of foolish, vainglorious, and wanton men.
62. It is possible that God will kill a man by His word and reward him well in the next world for his suffering. It is also possible that He would kill one through His messenger and would reward the messenger as well as him who obeyed the word of the messenger.

- 63 *דברי אשר הקדמתי כי הוא יודע את כל נעשותי על כן בעבור נפשו לא יצרך לנסותי אבל בגלל בני האדם צריכים נסותי למיץ ידעו כי לא אנס²³⁶ אברהם להתנסות;
- 64 זכרון עתה ידעתי הודעתי מתפרש²³⁷ כי כן כל עלילות יוצרינו ראוי לפרש²³⁸ וטעם לעצור ולהוליד הנני אורש²³⁹ כטעם להרעיב ולהטריק לחוביש ולהשרש;
- 65 *רעות מהשבת²⁴⁰ אנינס אלה לא יהו || כי כל הנוצר נתן אל קורות יקרוהו כי בהם (4 verso) נשכילה כי חדש הוא²⁴¹ ונמתה על האחים כי העשיר הגדול והרבהו²⁴²;

²³⁶ MS reads חנס.

²³⁷ This interpretation of Gen. 22, 12 is already found in ב"ר 56, 7: כי עתה ידעתי הודעתי לכל שאת אוהבני. Ed. Theodor (p. 603) reads: עתה יידעתי לכל וכו'. Ibn Ezra on the same verse quotes Saadia as follows: נסה הראות צדקתו לבני אדם. גם מלת ידעתי כטעם הודעתי. פאני אלאן ערפת אלנאס. Comp. Saadia's Arabic translation.

²³⁸ Comp. above secs. 20, 21.

²³⁹ Comp. Ps. 21, 3.

²⁴⁰ MS reads מחשבות with a diacritic mark over the ו, to indicate that it was a scribal error.

²⁴¹ The meaning of the three clauses is not clear to me. In the translation, I had in mind the following passage from האמוהד, chap. i, p. 18: והשלושית מן הראיות (על חדוש העולם) המקרים והוא שמצאתי כל הגשמים לא ימלטו ממקרים שיקרו בכל אחד אם מעצמו אם מזולת עצמו.

63. I have already said that He knoweth all that is being done, therefore, He hath no need for Himself to resort to trials, but for the sake of men there is need of trials, that they may know that He did not compel Abraham to be tried.
64. The expression "Now I know [that thou fearest God]" is to be interpreted "Now I have made it known," for so are all the deeds of our Creator to be explained, and the meaning of "to restrain" and "to cause to give birth" is, I may say, like the meaning of "to starve" and "to feed," "to wither" and "to cause to produce."
65. These thoughts, however, are not evil, for everyone created is subject to the accidents that may happen to him; through them we learn that it (the world) is new (i.e., *creata ex nihilo*). Thou

²⁴² Ḥiwi's argument which Saadia takes up in this phrase and continues in the following three paragraphs must have been the same as the one mentioned by Ibn Ezra (Gen. 27, 40): ויש אומרים איך אמר השם ורב יעבוד צעיר ג"כ אמר יצחק ואת אחיך תעבד which Joseph Bonfils (צפנת פענח, ed. Herzog, *ad loc.*) explains as follows: ודעת אלה האומרים היא כי אנחנו רואים הפך לזה כי אנחנו בנלות אדם. In the same passage Ibn Ezra quotes Saadia as follows: והנאון דחה זו השאלה בקנה רצון בעבור שמצא "וילך אל ארץ מפני יעקב אחיו" והנה שכת "ורשתחו ארצה שבע פעמים" . . . וישנים שלא הקיצו משנת האולת יחשבו כי אנחנו בנלות אדם ולא כן הדבר. Comparing this quotation with §§ 66, 67 below, it seems that either Ibn Ezra had this Polemic before him, or that Saadia elaborated this point in his Biblical Commentary and Ibn Ezra took it from there. The question why God allows His people to remain in exile is discussed in האמורה, p. 74. Comp. below, chap. iii, sec. 4, i, א"א.

66 חוזה עניין ויפרץ האיש²⁴³ ותדע כי תם²⁴⁴ הריבה.
ולא תאמר מלה שאינינה כתובה. ועוד אם ברח
תם ימים²⁴⁵ אחדים הנה בא. אבל זה וילך אל
ארצה²⁴⁶ ועוד לא בא:

67 * אמרתה כי ישראל עבדים היום בשעיר
בשבי. ול[א] ידעת [כי] הר שעיר בארץ הצבי.²⁴⁷
וגם רומיים לא מעשו המה בה[צביא]. ומרוב
תרמית לבך לא חדע מה תביא!²⁴⁸

68 טעית כי החליף אלהינו את מאמרו לתם. ונהפוך
הוא להפיץ²⁴⁹ בניו ולדורותם.²⁵⁰ כל הבשורות ב[ישרם]
ואם לא נילו . . . או[תם]. כ[ל] זו [באת]ה כהפכם
ויסור בשובם מרשעתם:

69 * שבטים אם היו מא[ב] [אחד] [ו]אם
אחת. נמתה לא קנאו [זה]בזה בתוכחת. והלא עשו
וישראל מא[ב] [אחד] ואם ובטן אחת. וישטם²⁵¹
ויתנתם ויא[מ]ר אהרונג וא[ורי]ד שחת:

²⁴³ Gen. 30, 43.

²⁴⁴ Ibid. 25, 27.

²⁴⁵ Comp. Lev. 25, 29: ימים תהיה גאלתו.

²⁴⁶ Gen. 36, 6.

²⁴⁷ Dan. 11, 16.

²⁴⁸ The 2d pers. sing. impf. of תביט נבא analogous to כבט²⁴⁹ תביט.

²⁴⁹ Comp. Ps. 144, 10: הפוצה את דוד עבדו.

²⁵⁰ The reading is not certain, it may also be read ולחרותם, in which case the phrase should be translated "of the saving of his children and their freedom he announced to them all good tidings."

²⁵¹ Gen. 27, 41, 42.

- hast said of the brothers [Esau and Jacob] that He made the elder richer and greater.
66. But consider the passage: "The man increased exceedingly," and thou wilt understand that He made the "Man of Integrity" (Jacob) greater, and thou wilt not say what is not written. Moreover, if the Man of Integrity fled for a few years, he soon returned, but this one (Esau) "went into a land [away from his brother Jacob]" whence he hath not yet returned.
67. Thou hast said that the Children of Israel are today serving in captivity in Seir, and thou dost not know that Mt. Seir is in the glorious land; nor are the Romans, when they muster their hosts, made up of the descendants of Esau, but through the exceeding deceit of thine own heart thou dost not know what thou speakest.
68. Thou hast erred [in thinking] that our God changed His promise to the Man of Integrity. On the contrary, to save his children and their generations, He announced to them all good tidings and if . . . all this befell as long as they turned away [from His path] but when they repent from their evil doing it will be removed.
69. If the tribes had come of one father and one mother, thou sayest that they would not have quarreled so jealously one with the other, but surely Esau and Israel came of one father and

70 יעקב שאלת למה הואפֿק²⁵² בצרותי. [ב]מות ר[חל]
[וי]סֿק איננו²⁵³ וכמה תמרורותי²⁵⁴ כל אשר תוסֿק
להזכיר בו צרותי. תוסֿק בשבחו כי לא היטוהו בן
המשמרות:

71 *כאשר רבו אנהותיו פה ועצם כאיבו.
כן לעתיד מה רב ש[יורו] [ומה] רב טובו. וגם
בעולם הזה יק . . . [ל]שואל בשמו בק[רב]י. וי"י
אמר ישראל אשר אתפאר בו:²⁵⁵

72 כי נעימות אלהיו על שלשה דרכים. בהסד ובשכר
ובגמול נערכים. הח[ס]ד והרחמים הכל אלימו
נצרכ[ים]. [כי] טוב [י"י] לבל²⁵⁶ [ו]רח[מיו] על כל
תהלֿכים:²⁵⁷

73 *לעושי רצונו מתת שכרם נפש . . . אור:

אמר Hof. of אפֿק. Comp. אנדת בראשית, chaps. lxi-lxii. הקב"ה ליעקב למה את קורא תגר. למה תאמר יעקב.

²⁵³ Gen. 42, 36.

²⁵⁴ Comp. *ibid.* 47, 9.

²⁵⁵ Isa. 49, 3.

²⁵⁶ Ps. 145, 9.

²⁵⁷ Comp. Neh. 12, 31. The word may also be read ההלכים.

one mother and one belly and yet [Esau] hated and plotted and said, "I will kill and bring down to the grave."

70. Thou hast asked, "Why was Jacob encompassed with troubles, with the death of Rachel and the loss of Joseph and with much bitterness?" But the more thou speakest of his troubles, the more dost thou add to his praise that they have not turned him away from the commandments.
71. In proportion as his sorrows increased and his pains grew strong here, so will his song and his comfort increase in the future [world], and even in this world to him who asks his name and God hath said, "Oh, Israel in whom I am glorified."
72. For the goodness of God cometh in three ways, through kindness, or recompense, or reward. All are in need of His kindness and mercy, for the Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all processions.
73. To those who do His will. . . .

CHAPTER III

TEXTS RELATING TO ḤIWI AL-BALKHI AND HIS TWO HUNDRED QUESTIONS; ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY

NINTH CENTURY

1. MARDÂN-FARUKH (fl. in the middle of the ninth century).

From *Shikand Gûmânîk Vijâr*, translated by E. W. West (In *The Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXIV, Oxford, 1885).

- (a) Chap. xiii, §§ 122, 132-134. Comp. above, chap. ii, secs. 1-4.

“And as to the tree of knowledge itself, about which he commanded thus: ‘Ye shall not eat of it,’ and also as to the injunction for not eating of it, which was issued by him, why was it necessary for him to make them?
(132) They also say this, that things of

every kind were created for mankind, on account of which it is evident that even that tree was created by him for mankind—(133) and man was made by him predominant over every creature and creation. (134) If that be so, why were they now to incline their desires away from that tree, which was their own?”

(b) *Ibid.*, §§ 135–137. Comp. above, chap. ii, sec. 6, and below, sec. 10, b.

“From this following statement, this, too, is evident, that knowledge was not really originating with him, (136) because if he came forth to the garden and raised his voice, and called Adam by name thus: ‘Where art thou?’ it is just as though he were unaware of the place where he existed; (137) and if he had been unanswered by him, he would have been unaware of the place where Adam existed.”

- (c) *Ibid.*, XIV, 32-33. Comp. above, chap. ii, secs. 20, 21.

“Again, it shows that his final result is all regret, (33) just as this which it states, that he became among the despondent, and he spoke thus: ‘I am repentant as to the making of men on the earth.’”

2. ABU AMRAN AL-TAFLISI (fl. second half of ninth century).

See No. 3.

TENTH CENTURY

3. *Abu Yusuf Yakub Al-kirkisani* (fl. first half of tenth century).

From *Kitâb Al-Anwar*, chap. ii. cited by Harkavy, זכרון רב סעדיה, p. 147, note 2.

²⁵⁸ וְלֹא גִוַּבְתָּ מִסְאִיל יִסְבְּהָא אֵלֵי חִוּיָּה

4. SAADIA B. JOSEPH (892-942).

(a) From כְּחֹאב אֶלְחֻמִּיז, cited by Judah b. Barzilai in פִּירוּשׁ סֵפֶר יִצְחָק, published first by

²⁵⁸ “And he [Abu Amran Al-Taflisi] had replies to questions which he wished ascribed to Ḥiwi.”

S. D. Luzzatto in *הליכות קדם*, p. 71. Comp. ed. Halberstam, p. 21. Comp. below, sec. *i*, ה.

ובזאת אמר חיוי אלבלכי בספרו שכתב בו מאתים טענות: „למה עזב הקב“ה המלאכים הטהורים ולא שָׁפַן כבודו ביניהם. ובהר לשון כבודו בין בני אדם הטמאים?“ והשבתי אותו כששמעתי את דברו: ומי הודיעך כי לא השכין בין המלאכים מאורו הרבה מהאור השוכן בין בני האדם? וכן היתה תשובתי אליו בזה הלשון: „עוד איך עתה [אתה?] חדע מה עשה למלאכי מרומים? אפשר כי השכין ביניהם אור כזה אלה פעמים. כי יורה לפי כחם לעבדו בתמים. ואיך תאמר מאסם ולא תגור מן השמים“. Luzzatto (*ibid.*) suggested also that it was this passage which Ibn Ezra had in mind when he said (Gen. 1, 1): ואל תשים לבך לדברי הגאון שאמר שהאדם נכבד מהמלאכים. He also pointed out that Ibn Ezra quoted Saadia again in his shorter Commentary on Exod. 23, 20: ואמר בספר אחר כי הכבוד שהשכין השם עם המלאכים כפלי כפלים מהכבוד שהשכין

עם ישראל. כי המלאכים נכבדים מהם (כרם המד
 IV, p. 106; comp. also Reggio, 'באור על ס'
 שבוט נקרא הקצר להרא"בע, Prague, 1840,
 p. 71). Later, Kaufmann called attention
 (פי' ס' יצירה, ed. Halberstam, p. 334) to the
 fact that Ibn Ezra quoted Saadia also in his
 longer Commentary on Gen. 1, 1: אחר
 אמר אם שאל שואל איך השכין כבודו עם בשר
 ודם שהם מלאים טנוף והניח המלאכים הקדושים
 והשיב כי הכבוד עם המלאכים כפל כפלים הכבוד
 (comp. אוצר נחמד, II, 211). In the ed. of M. Friedlaender (*Essays on the
 Writings of Ibn Ezra*, Hebrew Appendix,
 p. 22) the last line reads: הכבוד שהשכין עם
 המלאכים כפל הכבוד שהשכין למטה
 groups this question neither with Gen. 1, 1
 nor with Exod. 23, 20, but with Exod. 25, 8
 (הגר', VII, 119-120).

- (b) From ספר הגלוי (ed. Harkavy, p. 177, ll. 12-14).

וכדלך אלדד עלי חיזי אלבלכי אלדי אקאם כתאבה
פי מא אמתנא סתיך סנה:²⁵⁹

- (c) From ספר האמונות והדעות, ed. D. Slucki, Leipzig, 1864, Introduction, p. 12. Comp. also below, sec. 10, *d*.

ואני רואה כי ענין אות המן יותר נפלאה מכולם.
כי הדבר המתמיד יותר נפלא מהנפסק. כי לא
יעלה בדעת תהבולה שתכלכל עם שמיספים קרוב
לאלק אלפים אדם ארבעים שנה לא מקדרי כי
אם ממוזון מוחל יחל אותו הבורא להם באור:
ואלו היה הנה שום פנים לתהבולה לקצת זה
היו מקדמים אלה הפילוסופים הקדמונים והיו
מכלכלים תלמידיהם בו:

- (d) *Ibid.*, chap. i, p. 20.

יש לי ראיות אחרות מהם מה שכתבתיו בפרשת
בראשית ומהם מה שכתבתיו בפירוש הלכות
יצירה ובתשובותי על חיזי הכלבי. According
to the Arabic (ed. Landauer, p. 37) it should
read בפירוש בראשית . . . ובתשובותי על חיזי
הבלכי:

²⁵⁹ "And so in the reply to Ḥiwi Al-Balkhi whose book was in vogue among our people for sixty years."

(e) *Ibid.*, chap. ii, p. 47. Comp. above, chap. ii, secs. 50-55.

ואחרים חושבים בענין וירא אליו י"י באלוני
 מימרא (בראשית י"ה: א') ואומרים שזה הענין
 אשר נראה לאברהם הנקרא בשם הזה הוא
 שלשה: כי הוא פירש אחריו שלשה אנשים
 נצבים; ואבאר כי אלה הם סכלים מהכל. והוא
 שלא המתונו עד שיגיעו לסוף הענין. ואלו היו
 מימתינים עד שישמעו (שם. שם. כ"ב) ויפנו משם
 האנשים וילכו סדומה ואברהם עודנו עומד לפני
 י"י. היו יודעים כי האנשים כבר הלכו וכבוד י"י
 עומד ואברהם לפניו. ובטל שידויה הוא הם. אבל
 נראה הכבוד תהלה לאברהם שילמד מינו שאלה
 אנשים חסידים וירא השם:

(f) *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 52. Comp. above, chap. ii, secs. 20, 21, 38.

ואומר שהוא באמת לא יתכן שיקרהו מיקרה. כי
 הוא בורא המקרים כלם. וזה אשר נמצא שאומר
 שהוא אוהב דבר או שונא דבר. הענין בזה שכל
 אשר צונו בו קראו אוהב אצלו. . . . וכל אשר
 הזהירנו מימנו שלא נעשהו קראו שונא אצלו

. . . . ומה שאנו רואים שאומר שהוא רוצה
ושהוא כועס. הענין בו שקצת ברואיו כאשר
חייב להם ההצלחה והגמול קורא זה רצון
וכאשר יתחייב קצתם הצער והענש. קורא זה כעס:

- (g) *Ibid.*, p. 53. Comp. above, chap. ii, secs. 36-40, and below, sec. 6, b.

ועל הקנין כי כל הברואים הם ברואיו ומעשיו.
ולא יתכן שנאמר שקונה זה מבלעדי זה. ולא
שקנינו לזה יותר ולזה פחות. ואשר נראה בספרים
אומרים שעם סגולתו וקנינו והבלו ונחלתו. כי
חלק יי" עמו יעקב חבל נחלתו (דברים לב"ט)
אין זה כי אם על דרך הגדול והכבוד. מפני
שאצלנו סגלת כל אדם וחלקו יקרים אצלו:

- (h) *Ibid.*, p. 54. Comp. above, chap. ii, secs. 20, 21.

ובשער הבריאה אמרו בדבר והפכו. ויעש אלהים.
וישבת: וכאשר "ויעש" איננו בתנועה ולא ביגיעה.
אבל הוא המציא הדבר המיוחד. כן בלי ספק
"וישבת" לא מתנועה ולא מ"גיעה". אבל הוא
עזיבת המציא הדבר המיוחד: ואעפ"י שאמרו

נִקְנָה (שמות כ': א') איננו דבר יותר מעזובת
החדוש והבריאח. . . . וכל אשר בא מאלה
השמות ענינם שב אל הברואים.

(i) *Ibid.*, chap. iii, pp. 72-74.

[שנים עשר ענינים]

ואחרי אשר דברתי בעניני הבטול. . . . הייתי
ירא שיכפרו בני אדם אני רואה שאחבר אליהם
שנים עשר ענינים. . . . ואומר:

[א] אולי קצת בני אדם מקצרים להחזיק בספר
הזה. בעבור שאין פירושי המצות מבוארים
בו. ואומר וכו':

[ב] והשני אולי אחר מקצר מלהחזיק בו בעבור
שהושב שיש בו סתירה כאמרו בשמואל
(ש"ב. כ"ד. ט') ויהי ישראל שמונה מאות
אלף איש ובדברי הימים (א' כ"א. ה')
ויהי כל ישראל אלף אלפים ומאה אלף
איש. ואומר וכו':

[ג] השלישי אולי יביאחו לזה מהשבו שיש בו
הגדה שהיא שקר שיהיה הבן גדול מן
האב שנתיים וכו':

[Comp. above, chap. ii, secs. 28, 29] [ד]

והרביעי אולי ימהר ממהר בעבור מצות
הקרבנות. אם לשהיט הבהמות או להקטרת
הדם והחלב: ואקרב הענין הזה ואומר: כי
הבורא גזר על כל בעלי חיים במות. ושם
לכל אדם ימי חייו. ושם מדת חיי הבהמות
לעת שחיטתה. ושם השחיטה במקום המות
. . . . אבל הקטרת הדם והחלב כבר בארה
התורה שהושם זה שיתבונן [האדם] בו. כי
נפשותינו משכנם הדם. . . . וכאשר נראה
זה נשוב אל נפשנו לאמר: לא נוסף לחטא
שלא ישפכו דמנו וישרפו חלבנו. כאשר
אנחנו רואים:

[Comp. above, sec. a] [ה] אולי

הושב יחשוב איך השכיך הבורא אורו בין
בני אדם והניח המלאכים הטהורים. ונאמר
ומי הודיעך שהניח המלאכים הטהורים בלא
אור? כי אפשר שכבר השכיך הבורא ביניהם
מאורו כפלים ממה ששמו בין בני אדם. וכו'

[Comp. below, No. 5] [ו] והששי אולי יחמה

ממעשה המשכן ויאמר: מה לבורא לאהל

ולמסך. ולנרות מודלקות. ולקול נשמי' לנגון.
וללחם אפוי. ולריח טוב. ולמנחת סולת
ויין ושמן ופירות. והדומה לזה? ואומר
ובאלהים אעזר. כי אלה כלם מדרכי העבודה.
לא מדרך הצורך. וכו'

[ז] [Comp. above, chap. ii, sec. 41] והשביעי
שיחשוב בהלקי המצות: איך יהיה האדם
בעוד גופו בבריאתו השלמה איננו תמים.
וכאשר יכרות ממנו דבר ידוע. יהיה תמים;
רצוני בזה. המילה? ואבאר כי הדבר
השלם הוא. אשר אין בו לא תוספת
ולא חסרון. וברא הבורא זה האבר תוספת
באיש. וכאשר יכרתו תסור התוספת. וישאר
שלם:

[ח] והשמיני שיחשב בענין פרה אדומה: איך
היתה מצותה שתטהר הטמאים ותטמא
הטהורים? ונאמר וכו'

[ט] והתשיעי הקרבן אשר היו מקריבים לעזאזל
ביום הכיפורים כי כבר נדמה לבני אדם
שהוא שם שדי. ואומר. כי עזאזל שם הר
וכו'

[י] והעשירי אומר על עגלה ערופה אך יכופר
בה לעם עון שלא עשוהו כי כבר הקדים
בתחלת הענין כי ימצא הלל לא מודע ביי
הכהו? ואומר וכו'

[יא] [Comp. above, chap. ii, secs. 65-68]
והאחד עשר שהוא רואה האומה המיחזקת
בתורה הזאת דלה ונקלה? ונאמר: אלו
שם לאנשי התורה המלכות התמידה היו
אומרים עליהם הכופרים כי אינם עובדים
אלהיהם כי אם לשמירת תאותם וכו' :

[יב] והשנים עשר כי לא מצא בתורה גמול
ולא עונש בעולם הבא אבל מצא בה
הגמול העולמי בלבד? ואומר כבר יחדתי
לזה הענין נאמר בפני עצמו וכו'

(j) *Ibid.*, chap. iv, p. 76. Comp. above, chap. ii,
secs. 12-15.

והשבתי בענין ימי חייו ואמרתי למה לא יהיה
תמיד? והתבאר לי שהבורא לא נתן לו החיים
האלה הקצרים בעולם הזה אשר הוא עולם
הטרה אך כאשר יסייעוהו יהיו לו החיים התמידים

כאשר אמר הכתוב היום שאל מימך נתת לו
וגומר וכאשר אבאר במאמר התשיעי

Comp. below, sec. o.

(k) *Ibid.* Comp. above, chap. ii, secs. 16–18.

והשבתי איך היה עם מותר האדם בנין גופו
חלוש מורכב מהדם והליהה ושתי המדות
ולמה לא היו חלקיו זכות מתמידות? והשיבותי
המחשבה הזאת ואמרתי וכו':

(l) *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 77. Comp. above, chap. ii,
secs. 10, 11.

והשבתי עוד בהל"ם הבאים עליו ואמרתי:
הלואי נצל מהם או נדחו מעליו ומצאתים
טובים לו בעבור שישוב מהטאיו ויכנע לאלהיו
ויתקנו עניניו . . . והשבתי עוד במשול החום
והקור והרגשתו בארס וזהל העפר והחיות
המזיקות וידעתי כי הרגשתו בזה מתקנתו כי
אם לא היה מרגיש בצער לא היה מפרח
מעונש אלהיו כי כאשר אמר אליו אני אצערך
לא היה יודע מה הוא הצער ושמחו מרגיש
בצעים האלה לבעבור יכירם ויהיו לו לדמיון:

- (m) *Ibid.*, chap. vi, p. 100. Comp. above, chap. ii, secs. 16–18.

נֹקֶה הָאָדָם אֵין בּוֹ דְּבַר טַמָּא אֶךְ הוּא טְהוֹר.
כִּי הַטּוֹמְאָה אֵינְנָה דְּבַר מוֹחַשׁ וְלֹא מִה שִׁיחִיבָהּ
הַשְׁכֵּל. אֲבָל הַתְּחִיב בַּחֲוֵרָה וְהַחֲוֵרָה לֹא טַמְּאָה
קִצַּת לַחֹת בְּנֵי אָדָם. כִּי אִם אַחֲרֵי הַפְּרָדָם מֵהֶם
לֹא טַמְּאָתָם וְהֵם בָּהֶם

- (n) *Ibid.* Comp. above, chap. ii, secs. 47, 49.

וְאִם הַיְסוּרִים הַדָּשִׁים עֲלִיהֶם אֱלֹהִים הוּא לְצַדִּיק
וְלִרְחִמָיו לֹא תָבִיאם עֲלֵיהֶם אֵלָּא עַל דֶּרֶךְ מוֹסֵר.
לְגַמְלָה תְּמוֹרָתָם טוֹבָה כְּאִשֶּׁר אָמַר (דְּבָרִים ח'
ט"ז) וְלִמְעַן נִסּוּחַךְ לְהַטִּיבְךָ בְּאַחֲרִיתְךָ:

- (o) *Ibid.*, chap. ix, p. 131. Comp. above, chap. ii, secs. 12–15.

וְאִם יֹאמַר אוֹמֵר וְהֵלֵא הָיָה חֹב שִׁיבְרָא הַבּוֹרָא
אֶת הָאָדָם הַזֶּה בְּעוֹלָם הָאֲחֵר מִתְּחִלָּה וְיִסֵּר
מֵעָלָיו כָּל אֱלֹהֵי הַצִּעְרִים? נִשְׁיב אוֹתוֹ בְּכַמוֹ מִה
שֶׁהִקְדַּמְנוּ בִּיאורוֹ בְּמֵאמַר הַשְּׁלִישִׁי
This has reference to the following passage on p. 58:
שׁוּמוֹ סִבַּת הַנֶּעֱתָם אֶל הַטּוֹבָה הַמִּתְמַדָּה בַּהֲטָרִיחָם

במה שצוה בו. הוא יותר טוב. והוא שהשכל
 דן שיהיה מי שמגיע לטובה על מעשה שהעבד
 בו יש לו כפל מה שיגעהו מן הטוב מי שלא
 עשה דבר אבל הוא מתחסד עמו וכו' :

5. SOLOMON B. YERUHAM (885-960).

From his Arabic Commentary on Ecclesiastes
 (7, 16), published by Poznanski in *Monats-
 schrift*, 1907, p. 732. A Hebrew translation
 of this passage was given by Pinsker, in
 לקוטי קדמוניות, p. 28. Comp. also above,
 No. 4, i, 1.

וקו' ואל תתחכם יותר בעד קולה אל תהי צדיק
 הרבה יעני לא תתערץ עלי מיאני כתאב אללה.
 פתקול ולם תעבד בכדא ולם לא יתעבד בכית וכית.
 מתל מא אעתרץ חיורי אלבלכי לענה אללה. פקאל
 לם תעבד באלקראבין אן כאן לא יגדא. ולם
 תעבד בלחם הפנים אן כאן לא יאכל. ולם
 תעבד באלסראג אן כאן לא יתצי. וקד רדו עליה
 אלעלמא ובכתוהו וקאלו לה: יא גאהל כין יגדא
 באלקראבין ואלנאר יאכל בעצהא ובעצהא יאכלה
 אלכהנים. וכין יאכל לחם הפנים ואלכהנים

יאכלוהא כק' והיה [והיתה] לאהרן ולבניו
 ואכלוהו ב"ק [במקום קדוש]. וכיה יחתאג יתצי
 והו כאלק אלנאר ואלנור כק' ויאמר אלהים יהי
 אור ויהי אור. וקאל אלנביא ישעיהו ע"ה יוצר
 אור ובורא השך . . . ²⁶⁰

6. ANONYMOUS.

(a) From an Arabic Commentary on Numbers
 (14, 23), published by Harkavy in *ביאסה נדחים*,
 No. 1, p. 3.

וקד טען חזיר אלבלכי פי הדא אלקצה וקאל:
 אדא כאן קד אקסם ללאבא אן יעטיהם יעני
 לאולאדהם הדא אלארץ אלמכצוצה פכיה יחסן

²⁶⁰ "In saying: 'Make not thyself overwise' after he said: 'Be not righteous overmuch' (Eccles. 7, 16) he meant that in matters pertaining to the Scriptures you must not be antagonistic and ask why was this ordained and why was not such and such a function prescribed, just as Ḥiwi Al-Balkhi, may God curse him, did. He asked: 'Why did God demand sacrifices unless he require nourishment, and why did he demand show-bread unless he eat, and why did he prescribe the lighting of candles unless he be in need of splendor?' And the wise men have already answered and rebuked him, saying: O fool, how is he to receive nourishment from the sacrifices when part of them is consumed by fire and part is eaten by the priests, and how would he eat the show-bread when it is eaten by the priests, as it is said: "And it shall be for Aaron and his sons; and they shall eat it in a holy place" (Lev. 24, 9), and how can he be in need of splendor, when he created the fire and the light, as it is said, "Let there be light: and there was light" (Gen. 1, 3), and the Prophet Isaiah, peace be upon him, said "He forms the light and creates darkness" (Isa. 45, 7)."

מנה אן יקסם עלי מנעהם מן אלדכול אליהא
 פיכון דלך מנאפיא לקסמה אלאול? פנקול אן
 קסמה באן יעטי הוא אלאדן לאולאדהם לם
 יכון מרצוץ [מכצוץ read] לגיל מנהם בעינה
 ולא דכל פי אלקסם להם בדלך קום משכצין
 באעיאנהם . . . ²⁶¹

- (b) From an Arabic Commentary on Deuteronomy
 (32, 9), published by Israelsohn in *R.E.J.*,
 XVII, 312. Comp. above, chap. ii, secs. 36–
 40, and above, sec. 4, g.

ומגן חייו אלבלכי לענה אללה פי הוא אלפסוק
 ומה אשבהה פקאל אן הוא ידל עלי אנה תעאלי
 ען אקואל אלגאהלין אקחסם אלאמם הו וגיריה
 פכאנוא האולי הצתה ונציבה מנהם פנקול לה
 כקול אללה לסנהריב את מי הרפת וגרפת: הם
 נקול אן הוא כלאם אלכלאטה ואלמגון וליס
 מן אלמלהדין מן טריק אלנטר אלוין יתעלקון

²⁶¹ "And Hiwi Al-Balkhi already raised an objection against this passage, saying: 'Since God had already sworn to the patriarchs to give their children this particular land, how did it become him to swear to prevent them from entering it so that this would be the annulment of the former oath: And we shall answer, that the oath that he would give this land to their children was not specified for any one generation, and some distinguished people did not come under this oath at all. . . .'"

בשבה ואן כאנוא מיכטיין לאן אלאדלָה קד דלָת
 עלי אן אללה תעאלי ואהד לא חאני לה ולא
 שריך מֵעַה ואֵנָה אלדי אהדת גִּמְיֵעַ אלמַחְדוּתָא
 פאדא כאן הדא חכדי פלמן יקאסם ומן יקאסמיה
 פי מלכה מתעאלי עִמָּא יקול אלגא־הדון פהו כמן
 קיל פיהם שתו בשמים פיהם ולשונם תחלך בארץ
 ולו ערק מא יסתעמלה אלעבראניון פי לגתהם מן
 לפט אלאכתצאץ לם יקל דלך אחרי למא קאל
 דוד יי" מנת חלקי וכוסי יקאסם אהדא עלי רב
 אלעאלמין:²⁶²

²⁶² "And Ḥīwī Al-Balkhī, may God curse him, spoke arrogantly in regard to this verse and similar verses saying, that this shows that God, may He be exalted over the words of fools, divided the nations between him and others, and that of them these [the people of Israel] became his share and portion. And we shall say to him as God said to Sennacherib (Isa. 37, 23): 'Whom hast thou reproached and blasphemed?' Then we shall say that this is the word of madness and arrogance, and none of those who have strayed from the path of thought, though they were wicked, hold to such arguments. For it was already shown that God, may He be exalted, is one, there is no second to Him and no associate, and that He created all creatures, and if this is so to whom would He give a portion and who would share with Him His kingdom? (May He be exalted above the words of the infidels.) And he [Ḥīwī Al-Balkhī] is like one of those of whom it is said (Ps. 73, 9): 'They have set their mouth in the heavens, and their tongue walketh through the earth,' and if he knew the idiom which the Hebrews employ in expressing selection he would not have said this. For see when David said (Ps. 16, 5) 'The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance and of my cup' did he alone want to share the master of the worlds!"

- (c) From an Arabic Commentary on 1 Kings (7, 13-14), cited first in Neubauer and Cowley, *Cat.*, No. 2628, 24, and translated by Poznanski in *הגדה*, VII, 124.

וישלח הדעת ויקול פי דב' דינ' הן
 [הן] ממשטה נפתלי ואימיה [ואמה] מבנות דן
 וחדא גייר מותנאקץ והו פי מסאיל האורי
 אלבלכ²⁶³:

ELEVENTH CENTURY

7. JOSEPH B. ABRAHAM HA-KOHEN HA-ROEH AL-BASIR (fl. first half of eleventh century).

From his *מהכינת פתי* cited by P. Frankl in *Monatsschrift*, 1871, p. 157. Comp. also below, No. 10, c.

ודברי אלה יאמרו כי משה ע"ה לא קרע ים אבל
 היה במקום מאלף שנה ועד אלף שנה יחסר המים
 בין המקום ההוא עת מן העתים ועוד היה ישוב
 אל מקומו ועד היום יהיו כמו אלה המקומות

²⁶³ "And he sent understanding. . . . And it is said in Chronicles (2 Chron. 2, 13) he is of the tribe of Naphtali and his mother of the daughters of Dan. But this is no contradiction. This is found in the questions of Ḥawī Al-Balkhi."

ידועים והיה משה יודע זה המקום והיה מקום
 אֶלְפִּי־שִׁטְוִיָּה (ἐλαφρία τοῦ νηροῦ?) יַעֲנֶה בַּעֲדָה
 הַיָּמִים וְהֵלֵךְ אֵלָיו בַּצְדִּיקָה וְהַעֲבִירָם:

8. ANONYMOUS.

From *Kitāb ma'ânî al-nafs*, ed. Goldziher, Berlin, 1907, p. 16, ll. 20-24. Comp. also Hebrew translation of Broydé,²⁶⁴ p. 20.

וְקָדַרְדֹּר' סַעֲדִיָּה גֵאוֹן ז"ל עָלֵי הָאִוִּי אֲלִבְלִלִי
 רָדָא עֲבֵרָאִיָּא וּפְסָר וְהָאֶרֶץ הִיתָה תוֹהוּ וּבֹהוּ
 וְגו' כִּנְיָא דְכִרְנָא וְאִלְסַבֵּב פִּי כוֹנֵה רָדָא עָלֵיהּ בַּלְפֹּט
 אֲלַעֲבֵרָאִי לֵאמֹר כֹּאן קַד תְּמַלְהֵב בְּמַלְהֵב אֲלִמְגֹס
 וְאִכְל יִנְקֹץ אֶתְתּוֹרָה פִּרְדָּא עָלֵיהּ וְלֹם יִקְדָּר יִשְׁהִי
 אֲלִרְדָּא בַּלְפֹּט עִרְבִי:²⁶⁵

TWELFTH CENTURY

9. MOSES IBN EZRA (1070-1139).

From *אלהדיקה פי אלמגאז ואלהקיקה*

²⁶⁴ In this translation the words עֲבֵרָאִי and עֲבֵרִית have been wrongly interchanged. Comp. also Poznanski, *J.Q.R.*, X, 261, note 3.

²⁶⁵ "And R. Saadia Gaon has already replied to Ḥiwi Al-Balkhi in Hebrew and he has explained [the verse], 'And the earth was waste and void' (Gen. 1, 2) . . . as we have mentioned. And the reason which prompted him to answer in Hebrew was that Ḥiwi was a follower of the Magi and he began to undermine the Torah, so in answering him R. Saadia could not make his reply public in Arabic."

also called ²⁶⁶ערוגת הבשם. The following extract in a Hebrew translation is given by Harkavy in *חדשים גם ישנים*, VII, 33.

וכתה מהם תסכל עוד יותר באחזה בדעת
המגבריים (המאמינים בהכרה) כי מה שנקצב
על דבר אי אפשר לשנותו כמו שהאש לא יתכן
לה שתעשה קרה ולא יתכן שהמים ישרפו; אולם
אם השנוי בלתי אפשר הלא אין מקום לשכר
ועונש מאחר שהכל בהכרח. וזאת הדעת גרועה
מן הראשונה. כי חלילה לה' שיכריח את האדם
למרי. וזאת היא דעת הכופרים חיוי אלבבלי
ואבן סאקויה ודומיהם:

10. ABRAHAM IBN EZRA (1088-1167).

- (a) From his longer Commentary on Genesis (I, I)
and from his shorter Commentary on Exodus
(23, 20). See above, No. 4, *a*.
- (b) From his longer Commentary on Gen. 3, 9,
ed. M. Friedlaender, p. 39. Comp. also
above, No. 1, *b*.

²⁶⁶ The existence of this work was until now known only through an extract from the Hebrew translation bearing this title (comp. צירוף,

ישתחקן עצמות ההוי הכלבי שאמר לולי שענה
 אדם לא היה נמצא והלא ראה כי קץ כחש
 והשם אמר לו קול דמי אחיד. רק דברה תורה
 כלשון בני אדם לפתחקן דבר:²⁶⁷

- (c) From his Commentary on Exod. 14, 27.
 Comp. also above, No. 7.

ישתחקן עצמות הוי הכלבי שאמר כי משה ידע
 את מעוט הים בידתו ועת רבותו בעלותו בהמשכו
 והוא העביר עמו במעוט המים כמשפטו ופרעה
 לא ידע מנהג הים על כן טבע:²⁶⁸

- (d) *Ibid.*, 16, 13. Comp. above, No. 4, c.

ירקב שם הוי שאמר כי המן הוא הנקרא בלשון
 פרסי תינגבין. ובלשון ערבי מן ובלשון לעז מנא:

II, 117 *et seq.*). Harkavy discovered a fragment of the original Arabic and has found that the Hebrew title originated with the author himself and not with the translator (גם ישנים, VII, 32).

²⁶⁷ Poznanski (הגרן, VII, 118) justly remarked that by aid of this passage we get the real meaning of Ibn Ezra's words in the shorter commentary to this verse, viz.: טעם איכה פתחקן הדברים. וכן אי' הבל אחיד. והנה כחש קין והשיב לו השם קול דמי אחיד צועקים.

²⁶⁸ Samuel ibn Zarza (מקור חיים, Mantua, 1559, fol. 39c) quotes this remark of Ibn Ezra but misquotes the surname of Ḥīwī: וכתב ׳ן. עזרא ישתחקן עצמות חיוי הבבלי בגיהנם שאמר וכו'.

(e) *Ibid.*, 34, 29.

ישתחקו עצמות הוי הפרשע שאמר כי בעבור שלא
אכל לחם שבו פני משה יבשות כנז הקרן וטעם
וייראו מפניו שהיו פניו מכווערות:

11. ABRAHAM IBN DAUD (1110-1180).

From ספר הקבלה, ed. Neubauer, p. 66.

נפטר רב סעדיה בשנת לחשב והוא כבן נ' שנה
מן המרה השחורה לאחר שחבר כמה ספרים
טובים ועשה טובות גדולות לישראל והשיב
תשובות על המינים ועל הכופרים בתורה ואחד
בהם הוי אלכלבי אשר בדה מלכו תורה והעיד
רב סעדיה שהוא ראה מלכדי תינוקות מלבדים
אותה בספרים ובלוחות עד שבא רב סעדיה ונצחם²⁶⁹

FOURTEENTH CENTURY

12. SAMUEL IBN ZARZA (fl. second half of fourteenth century). See above, No. 10, c, note 268.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY

13. SIMON B. ZEMAḤ DURAN (1361-1444).

From מִגַּן אֲבוֹת Leghorn, 1785, fol. 31a.

²⁶⁹ This passage is copied by David Conforte (קורא הדורות), ed. Cassel, Berlin, 1846, fol. 4a) with the older reading of המיאל כלבי.

ובימי ר' סעדיה גאון היה היואי אל כללבי
שבדה מלבו תורה: והיו מלמדים אותה לתינוקות
בלוחות עד שבא ר' סעדיה גאון ונצחם:²⁷⁰

14. SAADIA B. MAIMON IBN DANAN (fl. second half
of fifteenth century).

(a) From חמדה שאלה עד האזנים in Edelman, *חמדה*,
גנוזה, 1856, 16a.

ובעונותינו הרבים כבר עברה הרב השמד על רבים
מקהלות אשור ובבל ותימן ואפריקי וארץ המערב
וארץ הזאת ספרד בימי חייו הכלבי ש"ע [שחוק
עצמות] בדורות הרמב"ם ז"ל לפניו²⁷¹

(b) From מאמר על סדר הדורות, *ibid.*, 28b.

והוא [רב סעדיה] חבר ספרים הרבה ותרגם עשרים
וארבע ספרי קדש וכל המשנה והתלמוד הבבלי
בלשון ערבי והשיב על המינים ועל הקראים
תשובות נצחות ובימיו²⁷² חייו הכלבי י"ע [ישהקו

²⁷⁰ This reads like a copy from the Chronicle of Ibn Daud, though the latter has not the words ר' סעדיה גאון ובימי.

²⁷¹ We should perhaps read בימי ולפניו²⁷² חיו הכלבי.

²⁷² On this word Harkavy remarked (זכרון רב סעדיה), p. 147, note 1), הוסיף מלה לגריעותא וללא אמת, but we see that Simon

עצמותיו]²⁷³ שבשע [שכשה] והסית והדיח הרבה
 מישראל וכחש בתורת ה' ובדה מלבד תורה
 חדשה אשר הורהו השטן. הוא חיוי פלוסוף
 ומכשף גדול היה²⁷⁴ והעיד רבינו סעדיה ז"ל
 שראה מלמדי תינוקות בערי אלבלך בבבל
 מלמדים תורת חיוי הכלבי ישע [ישהקו עצמותיו]
 ורבינו סעדיה ז"ל נתחזק באלקיו והסיר את הבעלים
 והשגעות מן הארץ:

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

15. DAVID CONFORTE (1618-1675).

Comp. above, No. 11, note 270.

Duran also wrote **ובימי ר' סעדיה נאון היה חיורי** (above, sec. 13). It is therefore likely that both Duran and Ibn Danan had some other source than the Chronicle of Ibn Daud.

²⁷³ Harkavy (*ibid.*) unnecessarily corrects the abbreviation as follows: **שבשע** for **שכשה**. His substitution of **שבשע** for **שכשה** is borne out by the Talmudic phrase **על שכשה והסית והדיח את ישראל** (*b. Sanhedrin* 43a, comp. *Dikduke Sopherim*, *ad loc.*).

²⁷⁴ I have already explained this phrase to mean that Ḥiwi was a follower of the Magi, not that he was an enchanter.

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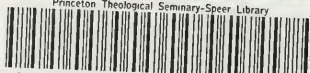
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